

LIFE OF
ELISHA
TYSON

J. S. TYSON

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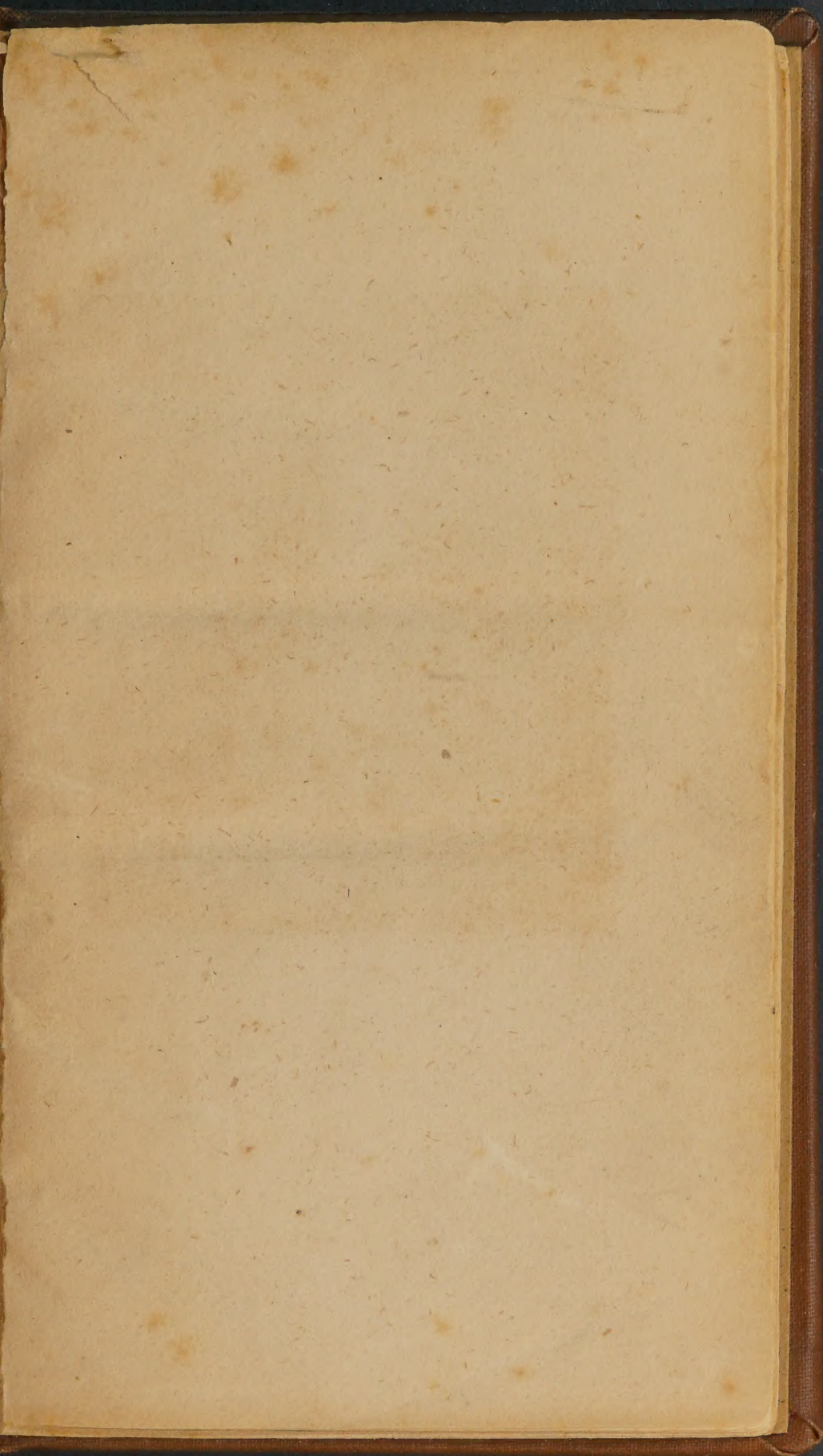
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ELISHA TYSON,
The Philanthropist.



LIFE

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OF

ELISHA TYSON,

THE

PHILANTHROPIST.

BY A CITIZEN OF BALTIMORE.

John A. ...

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PREFACE.

There are three reasons, which have induced the publication of "the life of Elisha Tyson."

First: To do away the false impressions which his enemies have made upon the minds of many of the community. The motives which led him to make so many sacrifices in the cause of humanity, have been misrepresented. The means he employed, and the mode he adopted, in furtherance of his benevolent designs, have been vilely traduced.

Secondly: To shew that the rash proceedings, entered into by some men, who will have universal emancipation at all hazards, are contrary to the course of policy which he pursued with wonderful success, during the whole course of his life—a success, which will not attend any other course of policy.

Thirdly: To encourage the young philanthropist, and all those seriously concerned for the cause of liberty, to follow in the footsteps of the great pioneer in the cause of freedom; so that what he has begun, may grow and flourish unto the end.—

Thus, "though dead, yet shall he live."

THE AUTHOR.

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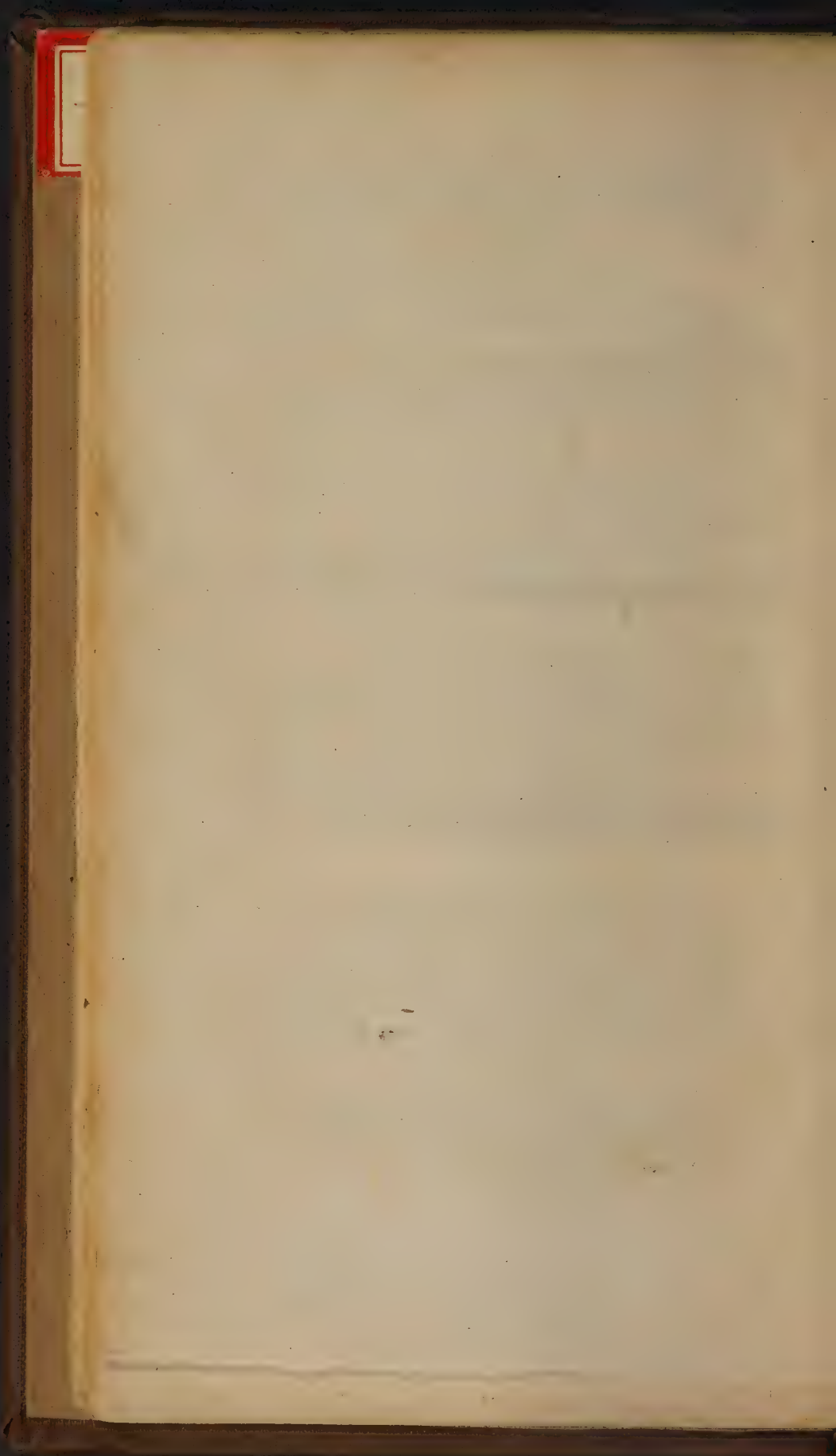
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CHAPTER I.

CUSTOM, which has as great a share in prescribing the laws of composition, as either truth or nature, has rendered it necessary that the history of the genealogy of every individual should precede his biography. Under old monarchical governments, the object principally sought for in these genealogical descriptions, is the adorning the birth of the hero of memoir, with the antiquity or nobility of his ancestry. In a republican country, where antiquity and nobility of descent are alike disregarded, the object is, to enhance the merits of the hero by the *virtues* of his progenitors.—No matter which of these be the design, it is irrational, because the merits of every kind, ascribable to our ancestors, are theirs exclusively, and cannot be given to the descendant by any mode of investiture.

Lest this (which is intended solely as a protest which every writer has a right to make against evil custom,) should be regarded as an ingenious mode of avoiding duty, the performance of which in this particular instance would be rather disagreeable, I will merely state, that the oldest known ancestor of Mr. Tyson, was a German Quaker, converted to the faith of Fox, by the

preaching of William Penn. Persecuted by the government of his native country for his religion, he gathered up his all and followed Penn to England, with whom, and at whose request, he afterwards embarked for America, and was among the first settlers of Pennsylvania. He established himself within what are now called the environs of Philadelphia; married the daughter of an English settler, and became the happy father of sons and daughters. From these, many descendants have been derived.

Elisha Tyson was one of the great grandsons in direct descent of the German Quaker, and was born on the spot which he had chosen for his residence. The religion and virtues of this ancestor, were instilled into the minds of his children, and children's children, to the third and fourth generation—not by transmission of blood, but by the force of a guarded and a christian education. In the subject of this memoir, they blazed forth with superior lustre. From his infancy he was conspicuous in his neighbourhood for that benevolence of heart and intrepidity of soul which so highly distinguished him in after life. Like the infant Hercules, he may be said to have strangled serpents in his cradle.—For in early youth his constant occupation was the redress of human wrong: and instances might be recorded where, in the pursuit of this occupation, he evinced a moral courage that would have ennobled manhood. Not that there was in Pennsylvania, even before the revolution that established freedom throughout the United States, much of local oppression to resist. In the best regulated communities, there will always be found, individuals disposed to trample on the rights of others—those “Little tyrants of the fields,” to withstand whom, and thus preserve the peace of the neighborhood, it is necessary that “Village Hamdens” should sometimes arise.

This arena soon became too confined for the expanding philanthropy of Mr. Tyson. The eye of his mind began to look beyond the horizon that bounded his natural vision, and his heart sympathised with suffering humanity in other quarters of the globe.

Whether it was this benevolence of soul, which moved him to leave his native state, at an early age, and settle in the state of Maryland, or whether any other was his motive, does not directly appear. But when we consider the peculiar bent of his mind; when we reflect that at the time of his removal, there was nothing to a young man seeking his fortune, inviting in Maryland; when we reflect, also, that for one species of benevolence, the state of Maryland was a field better suited to the operations of philanthropy, than perhaps, any other; and above all, when we reflect that in that species he took an immediate, an extensive, and an unceasing part, we have a right to infer that the desire to be useful to his fellow beings, was the predominating motive that led him to change his residence.

The part of Maryland where he first established himself, was in the county of Harford. He soon found that in that place, there was no continuance for him, and he removed to the spot now occupied by the City of Baltimore, then in its infancy. And having assisted in nourishing that infancy until it grew to manhood, until Baltimore was enabled to put on what has not inaptly been called the toga virilis, that is the corporate investiture, lived to witness the extraordinary prosperity which made the Metropolis of Maryland the third city in the Union.

Here he soon lent the aid of his powerful mind to the planning and executing of those various schemes for the good of his fellow citizens in general, and of this city in

particular, which were from time to time formed and perfected. In deeds of public charity and private benevolence, and in the promotion of charitable institutions of every sort, he took a most active part.

But his exertions in behalf of the persecuted sons of Africa, were those which rendered him pre-eminently conspicuous, and which crowned him benefactor of the *whole* human race.

This was a species of benevolence, at all times more to be admired than any other, on account of the superior number and weight of obstacles that impede its exercise. The man who would practice it, must struggle against the most violent prejudices in himself, and antipathies in others. The objects of his benevolence coming from a quarter of the world which he is taught to despise; their complexions coloured with a deeper dye of nature's pencil; their personal appearance altogether opposite to that which his imagination has set up as the standard, not only of human beauty but even of human nature, degraded by a slavery the most debasing, to the sight of which, from his earliest infancy he has been familiar, he is irresistibly inclined to regard them as an inferior race of beings, born to toil for the benefit of others, and predestined to oppression.

For these reasons too, it happens that benevolence towards this proscribed race of human beings, is the only kind of philanthropy not popular among men. We will "plunge into the infections of hospitals," to alleviate the distress of those whom accident or vice has thrown into misery.—We will explore the rank and fetid glooms of a dungeon to sooth and enlighten the more gloomy souls of those whose crimes have brought upon them the miseries they suffer. We will cross mighty oceans, defy cold and heat, disease and death, to

nerve the arms of insurgent kingdoms bursting in the madness of desperation the manacles of tyranny, or traverse trackless deserts to pour the gospel treasures of salvation into the laps of alienated nations. For this we applaud ourselves, and are applauded by the world.

But the unfortunate descendants of those whom the avarice of our ancestors tore from their natal soil of Africa, for no fault by them committed, with the greatest apathy we behold bound in rigid slavery. From them we keep back the light of intellect and the lights of the gospel, and should a solitary individual be found daring enough to extend to them the hand of charity, instead of meeting with the applause, it is well for such an one if he escape the reproaches of society.

A wise man has remarked, "when religion is popular, hypocrites are most numerous; but when religion is in publick disrepute, there are few professors, and every one a true believer." A similar remark may be applied to philanthropy. When a species of philanthropy is popular, how numerous is the catalogue of philanthropists, and how few of these are really what they seem to be! And when a species of philanthropy meets with public reprobation, who wonders that its ranks are thin, or doubts the sincerity of those who join them?

Human nature furnishes the reasons of this dissimilarity, and the evidences of its existence. These reasons are founded in the opposite motives by which two different ranks of mankind are impelled to action. The fondness of human applause or the dread of human censure in the one, and the love of Divine approbation or the dread of Divine displeasure in the other. When the will of Heaven is suited to the will of man, in any particular, how easy is it to comply! When the public applause echoes the voice of God, who will not obey?—

And is it not as certain as it is lamentable, that of those who do, the greater number will obey the voice because of the echo?

In illustration of all this, we need only look at the history of Bible societies, especially as they have been established in the island of Great Britain. We there see men of all ranks and descriptions, kings, princes, nobles and gentry, rich and poor, infidels and true believers, united together for the dissemination of the gospel; a gospel which numbers of them never read; which still more do not believe; and which by far the greater number do not obey. Why this mania?—this pompous parade of Philanthropy?—Because it is popular. Fifty years ago would the vast majority of these, had they then existed, have exhibited such a blaze of zeal? would they then have treated even with respect those sacred pages, which now appear to be the object of their adoration? No. And why? Because, then the Bible was not a popular book, as it now is.

I mention not these truths for the purpose of undervaluing the efforts of Bible societies, or of depreciating the value of the "book of books." I merely offer them in confirmation of what I have advanced, namely, that as it is easy to appear philanthropic, when philanthropy is popular, so it is difficult to be so in opposition to the public voice. For this reason the philanthropist who makes the will of Heaven his guide, whether the breezes of popular favor swell his sails, or the storms of popular fury tear them; whose ardor is as unabated when single handed and alone he wields the weapons of his warfare, as when backed by the collected power of a nation; and who clings closer and closer to his God as he is more and more abandoned by man—HE is the only true philanthropist.—*Such an one was Eliska Tyson.*

ELISHA TYSON.

If the cause which he so warmly espoused, is not popular in these more benevolent days, what must it have been forty-five years ago, when he commenced his career of public benevolence! Then a free African was a novelty among us. The power which made them slaves, exerted all its rigor to keep them so. Masters were prohibited by law from manumitting their slaves by last will and testament, and were thus deprived in their last moments of the means of expiating the sufferings they might have inflicted upon them. A few laws there were indeed which seemed to favor them, but these for want of exercise had become almost a dead letter.

With regard to the treatment by masters individually of their slaves, though gentle on the part of many, yet it was so severe in general, and acts of cruelty were so numerous, that the public sensibility became indurated, and they all passed by like ordinary occurrences, unnoticed, or at best unpunished.

At such a time, and under such circumstances, Mr. Tyson stood forward, young, solitary, friendless, the champion of the rights of this persecuted race.

The better part of society called it rashness, and the worse arrogance, in such an individual at such a time, to put himself in battle array against the whole community. But he had early laid it down as the leading principle of his conduct, that justice and fear should be strangers to each other, and that the man who would do right, should do so regardless of consequences. This principle was his polar star, and never once did the eye of his mind wander from it.

What gave rise to most of the difficulties with which Mr. Tyson had to contend, was the internal slave trade, as it has been mildly called; but which might, with more propriety, be called *infernal*, and which even now

is carried on to a sorrowful extent. At that time it was as common, and in the view of the world as genteel a traffic as any other species of domestic trade. It was not then, as now, viewed with abhorrence by all humane men. Nor was it, as now, conducted solely by the vilest of the human race, who having no good character to loose, have no sensibility to feel its loss; but it was carried on by persons in all ranks of the community. Even the most creditable merchants, felt no compunction in speculating in the flesh and blood of their own species. These articles of merchandize, were as common as wheat and tobacco, and ranked with these as a staple of Maryland. This state of things was naturally productive of scenes of cruelty. Georgia was then the great receptacle of that portion of these unfortunate beings, who were exported beyond the limits of their native soil; and the worst name given to Tartarus itself could not be more appalling to their imaginations than the name of that sister state. And when we consider the dreadful consequences suffered by the victims of this traffic; a separation like that of death between the nearest and dearest relatives; a banishment forever from the land of their nativity and the scenes of their youth; the painful inflictions by the hands of slave drivers, to whom cruelty was rendered delightful by its frequent exercise; with many other sufferings too numerous to mention, we cannot wonder at this horror on the part of those unfortunate beings, and that it should cause them to use all the means in their power to avoid so terrible a destiny. The slave trader, aware of all this, and fearful lest his victims might seek safety by flight, became increasingly careful of his property.— With these men, and upon such subjects, care is cruelty; and thus the apparent necessity of the case came in aid of the favorite disposition of their minds. They

charged their victims with being the authors of that cruelty, which had its true origin in their own remorseless hearts. Their plea for additional rigor, being plausibly urged, was favourably received by a community darkened by prejudice. Few regarded with pity, and most with stoical indifference, this barbarous correction for crimes anticipated, and rigorous penance for offences existing only in the diabolical fancies of their tormentors. The truth is, it was the love these poor wretches bore their wives, children, and native soil, for which they were punished. They were commonly bound two and two by chains, rivetted to iron collars fastened around their necks, more and more closely, as their drivers had more and more reason to suspect a desire to escape. If they were conveyed in wagons, as they sometimes were, additional chains were so fixed, as to connect the right ancle of one with the left ancle of another, so that they were fastened foot to foot, and neck to neck. If a disposition to complain, or to grieve, was manifested by any of them, the mouths of such were instantly stopped with a gag. If, notwithstanding this, the overflowings of sorrow found a passage through other channels, they were checked by the "scourge inexorable." The cruel monsters thus endeavouring to lessen the appearance of pain, by increasing its reality—like the surgeon who, (though for a more humane purpose,) applies the torturing tourniquet and knife to the limb already painful with disease. These were scenes of ordinary occurrence; troops of these poor slaves were continually seen fettered as before described, marching two and two, with commanders before and behind, swords by their sides, and pistols in their belts—the triumphant victors over unarmed women and children. The sufferings of their victims were, if possible, increased, when they were compelled to stop

for the night. They were crowded in cellars, and loaded with an additional number of fetters. On those routes usually taken by them to the South, stated taverns were selected as their resting places for the night. In these, dungeons under ground were specially contrived for their reception. Iron staples, with rings in them, were fixed at proper places in the walls; to these, chains were welded; and to these chains the fetters of the prisoners were locked, as the means of certain safety. It was usual every day for these slave drivers to keep a strict record of the imagined offences of their slaves; which, if not to their satisfaction expiated, by suffering during the day, remained upon the register until its close, when in the midst of midnight dungeon horrors, goaded with a weight of fetters in addition to those which had galled them during their weary march, these reputed sins were atoned by their blood, which was made to trickle down "the scourge with triple thongs." "What!" my incredulous reader may exclaim, "could such enormities ever have been permitted in a land pretending to civilization? Are you not, in imagination, transported to the barbarous regions of Turkey, and describing the cruelties of Turkish tyrants toward their Christian captives?" No, gentle reader: I am describing the tortures inflicted in a Christian country, by persons calling themselves Christians, upon men entitled to the same high denomination; cruelties sanctioned by a law, which was not only the law of the land then, but is the law of the land now. If you still doubt me, look at the code of Maryland laws, as it has existed from its first enactment, down to the present time, and your doubt will be resolved.

Every act of cruelty above described, might now with impunity be committed. What then it may be asked, has been done by Tyson to prevent or mitigate these

worst than barbarian practices? I answer, much; very much. Well knowing that all laws in a republican country, are founded upon public opinion, his great object was to work a change in that respect. He had two principal modes of operating upon the public mind; by conversation in public and private places, and by the press? Through the means of the first, he worked upon the feelings and sentiments of the higher and more influential classes; by means of the latter, he influenced in a great degree, the mass of the community. In private conversation, his arguments were so cogent, his appeals so energetic, and his manner so sincere and disinterested, that few could avoid conviction. It is true, indeed, as it regards the press, that he did not publish very much of his own composing; but he procured the publication of a vast deal of his own dictating. By his arguments and entreaties, he aroused the zeal of many individuals, each of whom enlisted himself as a kind of voluntary amanuensis, who wrote and published his dictations. Many important essays have in this way, been communicated to the public. It was in these ways that the public feeling became so softened, and the public prejudices so subverted, that among the respectable classes of the community, those laws, by which the enormities above described were permitted, became, though not really, yet virtually repealed. The inhumanities once so publicly practiced, being frowned upon by the majority of society, ceased to offend the public sensibility. The traffic in human flesh once so common, and carried on by persons looked upon as respectable, came to be of very limited extent, and conducted by the lowest and basest of mankind. Dungeons for the reception of slaves about to be exported, formerly so numerous in every part of this city, dwindled down to two or three. These, as if conscious of the disgrace

which blackened them, hid themselves in the very skirts of the city, and their infamous owners afraid of the indignation of a virtuous community, were compelled to carry their victims thither, in close carriages, and in the darkness of night. All this happy revolution was the work of one man; and though he did not live to see the abolition of this traffic completely effected, yet he was enabled to do so much, that but little remained to be done by his successors. He was enabled to turn the tide of popular sentiment; to cast a shade of deep disgrace over laws, once viewed as honorable; and thus, like a holy pioneer in the path of true glory, to render a final triumph easy to those destined to march behind him, under the same banners.

Of those held in servitude, two classes of beings felt, in a peculiar manner, the kindness and sympathy of Mr. Tyson—those entitled to their freedom, and illegally held in slavery—and those who, though not illegally kept in bondage, yet were treated with inhumanity by their masters. His first endeavours, in the cause of these, brought him in contact with some of the leading individuals in this city. They of course, and those within the sphere of their influence, were indignant against him, charging him with interfering with what they called their property. To this common argument, in the mouths of slave holders, he would reply: "True, these people are your property, but they are also human beings; as human beings, the law has given them certain privileges. Since, from their helpless and friendless condition, they are unable to vindicate their own rights, and redress their own wrongs, it is the duty of every good citizen to assist in rendering them justice. Upon this sacred ground of duty I stand; and I am not to be driven from it, by frowns, or enticed away by persuasions."

This was the kind of language he used towards those who, for their inhumanity to their slaves, he had caused to feel the lash of the law. To those who complained of his interference on behalf of the freedom of those whom they illegally held in bondage, he addressed *this* language—"By nature, all men are free; this you cannot deny. Admitting then, that human laws have the power of controlling the decrees of nature, and that every slave is such by force of human laws—how can you, how dare you say, that they do not become free when those very laws of man, shall have declared them so?—How have you the heart to trample upon the necks of your fellow beings, when the laws, not only of God and nature, but your own laws too, have given them equal rights with yourselves? It is not my individual arm, that has achieved the liberty of your slaves: it is the arm of the law that has given to freemen their rights. It is true that I was the means of bringing you and your captives before the legal tribunals of your country; but there I left you to yourselves, and to those whom the law had constituted judges of the matter in dispute between you. If you have any complaint to utter, vent it upon them; for the decision was theirs, not mine. That it has restored to a fellow being the sweets of liberty, I rejoice; and *you*, instead of regretting the loss of his servitude, should only regret, that you had so long reaped the benefits of that servitude in violation of the laws of nature and your country."

During the whole course of Mr. Tyson's philanthropic exertions, he was strongly characterized for the profound deference which he paid to the laws of the land. There are some laws, and those of this state, upon the subject of slavery, are among the number, so iniquitous in their nature, that even a casuist would be puzzled to determine whether or not, obedience to them be a duty

or a crime. He, however, hesitated not to inculcate, by example as well as precept, strict subjection to the institutions of his country. Not only because this is one of the conditions upon which only every citizen has a right to continue in the community, but also because the encouraging of disobedience to the laws in one respect, would be the promoting of it in another; disobedience would grow into rebellion, and rebellion end in the total subversion of the state. It was for these reasons that all his appeals in behalf of the persecuted Africans, were made either to the clemency of individuals, or to the justice of the civil judge. In those cases in which masters were guilty of barbarous treatment towards their slaves, if there was any hope that persuasion and entreaty would work a reformation, these were faithfully used. And sometimes they had the desired effect. The disinterested zeal of the benevolent intercessor, would command the silence, while the pleadings of mercy softened the heart of the slave-holder, and the voice of reason taught him, that even his slave by being so, had not ceased to be a man. Thus softened and convinced, he would resolve to yield to his captive at least so much of the rights of man as was consistent with the character of a slave, and merge the tyrant in the benevolent master.

But those cases wherein argument and persuasion were unavailable, he submitted to the legal tribunals of the country; and having placed them there, left them to the future care of those, whose oaths bound them to do justice.

Where he had reason to believe that a person claimed as a slave was entitled to his freedom, he would, in the first place, in order to avoid litigation, lay before the reputed owner the grounds of his belief. If these were disregarded, he then proceeded to employ counsel, by

whom a petition for freedom was filed in the proper court, and the case prosecuted to a final determination. What excited most astonishment in these trials, was the extraordinary success which attended him. Very few were the cases in which he was defeated; and his failure even in these, was more generally owing to the want of testimony, than to the want of justice on his side. To enumerate his successes, would be as impossible, on account of their vast number, as it would be tedious on account of their similarity to each other. Whole families were often liberated by a single verdict, the fate of one relative deciding the fate of many. And often ancestors, after passing a long life in illegal slavery, sprung at last, like the chrysallis in autumn, into new existence, beneath the genial rays of the sun of liberty, which shed at the same time its benign influence upon their children, and children's children.

The titles, of the individuals, thus liberated, to their freedom, were variously derived. Sometimes from deeds of manumission long suppressed, and at last brought to light, by the searching scrutiny of Tyson—sometimes from the genealogy of the petitioner traced by him to some Indian or white maternal ancestor—sometimes from the right to freedom, claimed by birth, but attempted to be destroyed by the rapacity of some vile kidnapper—and sometimes from the violation of those of our laws which manumitted slaves imported from foreign parts. Many of these cases were tried in Baltimore county court, during the presidency of judge Nicholson over that tribunal; and, (let it be spoken to his honor,) he powerfully seconded the exertions of Mr. Tyson, whenever he could do so consistently with his judicial character. And although sometimes it became his duty to pronounce against the unfortunate, yet this was the voice of the law, commanding into silence the

feelings of the man. Nicholson at the time of his elevation to the bench, was a resident of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, then the most slave-holding part of our state. He came to Baltimore with all the prejudices incident to a condition of society, such as that he had left. At first these prejudices threatened hostility to the cause of freedom; but such were the persevering efforts of Mr. Tyson, such the repeated practical illustrations which he exhibited to the view of that upright judge, that the latter began and continued more and more, until the day of his death, to see the weakness of those prepossessions which had fastened on his mind, to regard with horror what he had before viewed with equanimity, so that when he died, the friends of humanity mourned the loss of "the philanthropic judge." Of those *living* judges who preside in this and the other law tribunals throughout the state, it does not behoove me particularly to speak, in the language either of censure or of praise. But in general terms I may remark, that with very few exceptions, they have endeavoured to administer impartial justice, and in some instances, have manifested real feeling in behalf of the oppressed; thereby shewing, that the prejudices of education, and doctrines of Maryland jurisprudence, have not eradicated from their souls, those inborn sympathies of man, and that eternal code of nature, by nature's God written upon every heart, which none but apostates to humanity, and monstrous exceptions to their species, would wish to see obliterated.

The labors of Mr. Tyson, were not confined to a single district—they extended over the whole of Maryland. There is not a county in it which has not felt his influence, or a court of justice whose records do not bear proud testimonials of his triumphs over tyranny. Throwing out of calculation, the many liberations indirectly result-

ing from his efforts, we speak more than barely within bounds, when we say, that he has been the means, under Providence of rescuing at least two thousand human beings from the galling yoke of a slavery which, but for him, would have been perpetual.

And here let me join my readers in expressions of wonder and astonishment at this extraordinary display of human benevolence, in the person of a single individual—unsupported by power, wealth, or title, beneath the frowns of society, and against a torrent of prejudice. If among the Romans a civic crown was justly decreed to him, who saved, in battle, the life of a fellow citizen, what reward great enough, can this world furnish for the man, who snatched from the altars of slavery, whole hecatombs of human victims, already doomed and dressed for the sacrifice? But he looked only to Heaven for his reward, and there has he found it.

CHAPTER II.

In the commencement of his career of mercy, Mr. Tyson's exertions were very much circumscribed, on account of the rigor of the prevailing laws. In process of time, however, these became more and more lenient, and opportunities for the display of his benevolence more and more multiplied.

In effecting these different improvements, he took a most conspicuous part, thus with one hand opening the doors of emancipation, while with the other he led forth captive multitudes to light and liberty.

The most important innovation on the old law, and of which I shall take principal notice, is the one by which

persons, for the first time, were allowed to manumit their slaves, by last will and testament.

In the earliest periods of our state existence, individuals were found, who, at the close of life, about to settle their accounts with God—painfully conscious of the evils of slavery, and terrified at the idea of making these perpetual, by leaving their unhappy slaves in bondage after death; desirous also of making a kind of pious sacrifice to Heaven, in atonement for whatever injustice they might have committed towards them, would insert a clause in their wills, bequeathing freedom to their slaves. Previous to the year seventeen hundred and fifty three, these clauses were generally considered as of doubtful force, and by the law tribunals, inoperative, unless the representatives of the testator, out of mere respect for his memory, or for more charitable motives, chose to carry them into effect. This they very seldom did. Considering themselves creatures of time, and not like their ancestors, inhabitants of eternity, eager to enjoy the pleasures of the one, and not thinking of the terrors of the other—blinded too by the prejudices of education, and the darkness of the times—they treated these benevolent designs, as the unreasonable dictations of disordered minds. This unnatural conflict between the living and the dead, in which the courts of law took so decided a stand in favour of the former, though the *law itself* stood neutral between the parties, was at last silenced in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-three, by an act of Assembly, by which all persons were positively denied the right of manumitting their slaves by last will and testament. This law *seemingly* fraught with so much evil to the cause of liberty, was on the contrary, productive of much good. As it only declared that to be law, which had been so pronounced by the judicature of the state, it could do no additional harm; and as it rendered that

certain, which before was doubtful, it prevented those who were desirous of giving freedom to their slaves, from postponing to the day of their deaths, this act of justice. Accordingly, we find from that period, manumissions by deed began to multiply. Liberal ideas too, upon the subject of human liberty, began to prevail, and so continued, that in the year seventeen hundred and eighty-nine, an attempt was made to repeal the above mentioned law. Which attempt, after having been annually repeated for seven years, was at last in seventeen hundred and ninety-six crowned with complete success. A new law was substituted in the place of the one thus annulled, by which persons, legally capable, were allowed, by their last will and testament, to manumit their slaves. As the period of the establishment of this law constitutes an important era in the history of the rise and progress of emancipation in this state, a brief account of its origin and completion will be expected by the reader.

This account will lead us somewhat out of place, to introduce into this sketch, the name of a society for the abolition of slavery, whose existence commenced in the summer of seventeen hundred and eighty-nine, the very year in which, as before remarked, the attempt to repeal the law of seventeen hundred and fifty-three, respecting bequests of freedom, originated. The plan for the formation of this society was first started by Joseph Townsend, now an old and always a respectable member of this community, to whom this city is indebted for the birth of several public institutions of great and growing usefulness. In the execution of this plan, Mr. Townsend found a most able coadjutor in the person of Mr. Tyson, who brought the whole vigor of his mind and body in aid of its completion. The preamble to their constitution is so remarkable for the sentiments it contains, considered

with reference to the darkness of the times in which it was written, as to make it a matter of modern curiosity. "The present attention of Europe and America to slavery," it proceeds "seems to constitute that crisis in the history of the human mind, when the united endeavours of a few may greatly influence the public opinion, and produce from the transient sentiment of the times, effects extensive, lasting and useful.

"The common Father of mankind created all men free and equal, and his great command is, that we love our neighbor as ourselves, doing unto all men as we would that they should do unto us. The human race, however varied in color or intellects, are all justly entitled to liberty, and it is the duty and interest of nations and individuals, enjoying the blessings of freedom, to remove this dishonor of the christian character from among them.

"From the fullest impression of the truth of these principles; from an earnest wish to bear our testimony against slavery, in all its forms; to spread it abroad, as far as the sphere of our influence may extend, and to afford our friendly assistance to those who may be engaged in the same undertaking, and in the humble hope of support from that Being, who takes as an offering to himself what we do for each other.

"We the subscribers, have formed ourselves into the Maryland Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, and for the relief of free negroes and others unlawfully held in bondage."

The first president of this society, was Philip Rogers, and the first vice president, James Carey, both still alive, and revered for their age and virtue. Those who composed it were of the most respectable class in the community, and there is hardly an old and venerable citizen, now in existence in Baltimore, whose name was not en-

rolled among the number—Most of its members have long since gone to reap their rewards in Heaven—Of these we mention, with pride and pleasure, the names of our once distinguished fellow citizens, general Joseph Sterrett, William Winchester, judge James Winchester, Adam Fonerden, William Pinkney, judge Chase, and Archibald Robinson. Other names might be added of those who were not citizens, (for they admitted persons from all parts of the world,) but the enumeration would too much swell the catalogue. We cannot avoid, however, mentioning the name of the illustrious Granville Sharp, the great English philanthropist, a name which will live, when the memory of kings and other artificial dignitaries shall be forgotten among men. This gentleman was elected at his own request, and though he could not act in the immediate presence of the society, yet he assisted them by means of his valuable correspondence. Of those members of this institution who yet remain, like monuments of former days, we could number many of our most worthy and venerable fellow citizens. These must remember, with heart-felt satisfaction, the time when, in concert with the subject of this biography, they lent their days and nights to the cause of humanity; and will no doubt bear testimony to the extraordinary zeal and noble exertions of Mr. Tyson, in the holy work which made him the soul of their confederacy.

That he was so, is evidenced by the fact, that when, after an ephemeral duration of seven years, this society fell into non-existence—when all its members had sunk down one by one, devoid of life and energy, he stood alone the intrepid assertor of universal liberty, against hosts of enemies, uniting in himself the spirits of the fallen; like the last of the hundred Spartans, who, at the pass of Thermopylæ, against the hosts of Xerxes, stood the solitary bulwark of Grecian liberty, while all his brave companions were lifeless around him.

The most important part of the business of this society was entrusted to a committee, called "the acting committee." It was their duty to seek out cases requiring the interference of the society; to file petitions for freedom, in behalf of those illegally held in bondage; to arrest kidnappers, and bring them to condign punishment; to submit to the grand jury of the county, cases of outrageous misconduct on the part of masters towards their slaves; and in fine, to represent on all occasions, the executive power of the body. This was the proper place for Mr. Tyson, and accordingly we find that he was elected a member of the first "acting committee," and though all others annually chosen to act upon this committee, were annually displaced by substitutes, yet the name of Tyson remained undisturbed, upon the list from year to year. He continued to fulfil the arduous duties of this station during almost the whole period of the existence of the society. On all occasions, he was the first to venture his person and fortune in defence of human rights, and often his intrepidity made him stand in situations, where he endeavoured to lead on those who dared not follow.

We will now pursue our account of the origin of the law, authorizing manumissions by last will and testament. Almost the first act done by the abolition society after its institution, was a petition to the Legislature, praying the repeal of the old prohibitory law of 1753, and the substitution in its place, of one of a contrary description. They had little hopes of succeeding, *at once*, in their ultimate design; but knowing that great attempts must have a beginning, however small, they determined to make that beginning in this instance, and to prosecute what they should thus have begun, with unabated zeal, to glorious success, or desperate defeat. Their first attempt was made, as before stated, in 1789. A

committee was appointed by the society, to wait upon the Legislature, with the memorial just alluded to.— This was read, and referred to a committee of the House of Delegates, who, in a short time, introduced a bill, suited exactly to the request contained in the memorial. The introduction, and discussion of this bill, produced a great sensation throughout the state. The enemies of freedom, viewed with terror, so daring an inroad of light, upon their much loved darkness, while the friends of virtue, and of man, hailed with rapture, this first dawn of liberty, upon an oppressed race. The struggle of the contending parties was violent in the extreme; a struggle, the like of which, had never before been witnessed, in the legislative halls of Maryland. The genius of slavery had triumphed there so long, that she seemed to have obtained a kind of prescriptive right of possession; no one had hitherto dared to question it. At first, she took up the guage which had now been cast upon her very altar, more like one desirous of taking bloody vengeance of an adversary for his impudence, than to defend a long established authority, through fear of losing it. But when she had found, and proved her adversary, she began to tremble for her own safety, and roused to the conflict all her powers. In the van of liberty stood William Pinkney, then, for the first time, a member of any legislative body. Between him and Mr. Tyson, an early acquaintance had been formed, and there had passed between them much correspondence, verbal and epistolary, as well upon the subject of slavery in general, as particularly that of the bill then before the house. To say that a man of Pinkney's composition could be influenced, in the formation of his opinions, upon momentous subjects, by the arguments of any man, would be to undervalue that great originality of genius, and correctness of thought, in which he

transcended all his cotemporaries. But we may say, and do say, that the ardor of soul which blazed forth on all occasions, in which his feelings were interested, became "seven times heated," when it mingled with the flame of liberty, from the breast of Tyson; so that, on the occasion above alluded to, it came forth like a hurricane of living fire, consuming whatever dared resist it. The speech which he made on that occasion, was his first effort at legislative eloquence, and there are persons now alive, who can describe, in glowing colors, its wonderful success in the establishment of his character as a great orator, and his cause for its justice.

As this speech was the medium through which William Pinkney passed from his domestic area to the great world, and as its delivery constitutes an important event in the history of individual emancipation in Maryland, a few specimens of its general character, may not be unacceptable to the reader.

In the course of an exordium, replete with beauties, he expresses his regret "that in a country which has set even distant Europe in a ferment, and lavished the blood of thousands in defence of its liberties, against the encroachments of an arrogant and abandoned government, the cause of freedom was yet the most unpopular, in which an advocate could appear. The alarms occasioned by mistaken ideas of interest; the deep rooted prejudice which education has fostered, and habit matured; the general hereditary contempt for those, who are the objects of their provisions; the common dread of innovation, and above all, a recent defeat, are obstacles, which, would seem sufficient to damp, if not entirely extinguish, the ardor of exertion. But with me these difficulties only serve to rouse every faculty of mind and body, which the occasion demands, and to call forth that

spirit of perseverance, which no opposition can subdue, but that which affords me conviction of my error."

After a few additional preparatory remarks, and a fair statement of the question, then before the house, he complains that "the door to freedom, is fenced about with such barbarous caution, that a stranger would be naturally led to believe that our statesmen considered the existence of its opposite among us, as the *sine qua non* of our prosperity; or, at least, that they regarded it as an act of most atrocious criminality, to raise an humble bondman from the dust, and place him on the stage of life, on a level with their citizens."

He then boldly strikes at the root of the question by examining into the origin of American slavery, and showing in the strongest colors its iniquity, as well as the wickedness of continuing it in this free and enlightened nation.—"Mr. Speaker, most iniquitous and dishonorable to Maryland, is that dreary system of partial bondage, which her laws have hitherto supported with a solicitude worthy of a better object, and her citizens by their practice countenanced.

"Founded in a disgraceful traffick, to which the parent country lent her fostering aid, from motives of interest, but which, even she, would have disdained to encourage, had England been the destined mart of such inhuman merchandize, its continuance is as shameful as its origin.

"Eternal infamy awaits the abandoned miscreants, whose selfish souls could ever prompt them to rob unhappy Africa of her sons and freight them here by thousands, to poison the fair Eden of Liberty with the rank weed of individual bondage! Nor is it more to the credit of our ancestors, that they did not command these savage spirits to bear their hateful cargo to another shore, where the shrine of freedom knew no votaries, and eve-

ry purchaser would at once be both a master and a slave.

"But wherefore should we confine the edge of the censure to our ancestors, or those from whom they purchased? Are not we equally guilty? *They* strewed around the seeds of slavery; *we* cherish and sustain the growth.—*They* introduced the system; *we* enlarge, invigorate, and confirm it. Yes, let it be handed down to posterity, that the people of Maryland, who could fly to arms with the promptitude of Roman citizens, when the hand of oppression was lifted up against themselves; who could behold their country desolated and their citizens slaughtered; who could trace with unshaken firmness every calamity of war, before they would submit to the smallest infringement of their rights; that this very people could yet see thousands of their fellow creatures, within the limits of their territory, bending beneath an unnatural yoke; and, instead of being assiduous to destroy their shackles, anxious to immortalize their duration, so that a nation of slaves might exist in a country where freedom is its boast."

After continuing to speak upon slavery, in the abstract, and to show its inherent iniquity, he proceeds to examine into its policy, in a national point of view. "That dangerous consequences of this system of bondage have not, as yet been felt, does not prove they never will be. At least the experiment has not been sufficiently made, to preclude speculation and conjecture. To me sir, nothing for which I have not the evidence of my senses, is more clear, than that it will one day destroy that reverence for liberty, which is the vital principle of a republic."

"There is no maxim in politics more evidently just, than that laws should be relative to the principle of government. But is the encouragement of civil slavery, by

legislative acts, correspondent with the principle of a democracy? Call that principle what you will—the love of *equality*, as defined by some; of liberty as understood by others; such conduct is manifestly in violation of it.”

He then states at length the ideas of Montesquieu, that in *despotic* governments, civil slavery is tolerable; in *monarchical* governments, it should not be admitted; but in *democracies*, it is the bane of the government. “For in *democracies*, where they are all on an equality, slavery is contrary to the spirit of the constitution; it only contributes to give a power and luxury to the citizens, which they ought not to possess.” “Such” says Mr. Pinkney, “must have been the ideas in England, when the general voice of the nation demanded the repeal of the statute of Edward VI. two years after its passage, by which their rogues and vagabonds were to be enslaved for their punishment. It could not have been compassion for the culprits, that excited this aversion to the law, for they deserved none. But the spirit of the people could not brook the idea of bondage, even as a penalty, judicially inflicted. They dreaded the consequences; they abhorred the example:—in a word, they revered the public liberty, and hence detested every species of slavery.”

“Mr. Speaker, the thing is impolitic, in another respect, never will your country be productive; never will its agriculture, its commerce, or its manufactures flourish, so long as they depend on reluctant bondsmen for their progress.” “Even the very earth itself,” (says one celebrated author,) “which teems with profusion under the cultivating hand of the free-born laborer, shrinks into barrenness, from the contaminating touch of a slave.”—This sentiment is not more figuratively beautiful than substantially just.

“Survey the countries, sir, where the hand of freedom conducts the ploughshare, and compare their produce

with yours. Your granaries, in their view, appear like the store houses of emmets, though not supplied with equal industry. To trace the cause of this disparity, between the fruits of a freeman's voluntary labours, animated by the hope of profit, and the slow-paced efforts of a slave, who acts from compulsion only, who has no incitement to exertion but fear—no prospect of remuneration to encourage—would be insulting the understanding. The cause and the effect are too obvious to escape observation."

Mr. Pinkney then proceeds to consider and refute the various objections that had been urged against emancipation. One of these was, "that freed-men are the most convenient tools of usurpation." This objection he combats by history, experience and reason. "In Rome, says he, the fact was clearly otherwise. We have the evidence of Tiberius Gracchus, confirmed by Cicero, and approved by Montesquieu, that the incorporation of freed-men into the city tribes, re-animated the drooping spirit of democracy, in that republic, and checked the career of Patrician influence." "How much more rational would it be to argue, that slaves are the fit machines by which an usurper might effect his purposes, and there is, therefore, nothing which a free government ought more to dread, than a diffusive private bondage within its territory. A promise of manumission might rouse every bondsman to arms, under the conduct of an aspiring leader; and, invited by the fascinating prospect of freedom, they might raise such a storm in Maryland, as it would be difficult to appease." In support of this idea, he refers to the conduct of those slaves, who fought under Hannibal in the second Punic war; who, under the promise of liberty, fought with the madness of desperation. "With the same promptitude and intrepidity would they have turned their arms against the senate them-

selves, if the same assurances had been given them by any enterprizing citizen." "Sylla, before he abdicated the dictatorship gave freedom to ten thousand slaves, and lands to a number of legions. By these means he was enabled, notwithstanding all his precedent enormities, to live unmolested as a private citizen, in the bosom of that very country, where he had acted the most hateful deeds of cruelty and usurpation. For by manumitting these slaves, the usurper secured their fidelity and attachment forever, and disposed them to support and revenge his cause at every possible hazard.

¶ "But where slaves are manumitted by government, or in consequence of its provisions, the same motives which have attached them to tyrants, when the act of emancipation has flowed from them, would then attach them to government. They are then no longer the creatures of despotism. They are bound by gratitude, as well as by interest, to seek the welfare of that country, from which they have derived the restoration of their plundered rights, and with whose prosperity their own is inseparably involved." "When we see freemen scrupulously faithful to a lawless abandoned villain, from whom they have received their liberty, can we suppose that they will reward the like bounty of a free government with the turbulence of a faction or the seditious plots of treason."

In support of these doctrines, he then quotes his favorite Montesquieu—He alludes to the practice of England, while bondage existed there; where, by parliament and courts of justice, manumission was always encouraged. "Even in India too, where climate and the nature of the country have, of necessity, established a political despotism, their slaves are manumitted without difficulty. No legislative restrictions to observe! No tyrannic clogs to struggle with!"

"But it has been said that nature has 'black-balled these wretches out of society.' Gracious God! can it be supposed that thy Almighty Providence intended to proscribe these victims of fraud and power from the pale of society, because thou hast denied them the delicacy of an European complexion! Is this color, Mr. Speaker, the mark of divine vengeance, or is it only the flimsy pretext upon which we attempt to justify our treatment of them. Arrogant and presumptuous is it thus to make the dispensations of providence subservient to the purposes of iniquity, and every slight diversity in the work of nature the apology for oppression. Thus acts the intemperate bigot in religion.—He persecutes every dissenter from his creed, in the name of God, and even rears the horrid fabric of an inquisition, upon heavenly foundations.—I like not these holy arguments. They are as convenient for the tyrant as the patriot—the enemy, as the friend of mankind. Contemplate this subject through the calm medium of philosophy, and then to know that those shackled wretches are men as well as we are, sprung from the same common parent, and endued with equal faculties of mind and body, is to know enough to make us disdain to turn casuists on their complexions, to the destruction of their rights. The beauty of complexion is mere matter of taste, and varies in different countries—nay, even in the same; and shall we dare to set up this vague, indetermined, and weathercock standard, as the criterion by which it shall be decided on what complexion the rights of human nature are conferred, and to what they are denied by the great ordinances of the Deity? As if the Ruler of the universe, had made the darkness of a skin, the flatness of a nose, or the whiteness of a mouth, which are only deformities or beauties as the undulating tribunal of taste shall determine, the indicia of his wrath.

"It is pitiable to reflect, on the mistaken light in which this unfortunate generation are viewed, by the people in general. Hardly do they deign to rank them among an order of beings above the mere animal that grazes the fields of its owner. That an humble, dusky, unlettered wretch, that drags the chain of bondage through the weary round of life, with no other privilege but that of existing for another's benefit, should have been intended by heaven for their equal, they will not believe. But, let me appeal to the intelligent mind, in what respect are they our inferiors? Though they have never been taught to tread the paths of science, or embellish human life by literary acquirements; though they cannot soar into the regions of taste and sentiment, or explore the scenes of philosophical research, is it to be inferred that they want the power, if the yoke of slavery did not check each aspiring effort, and clog the springs of action?" "As well might you expect to see the bubbling fountain gush from the burning sands of Arabia, as that the inspiration of genius, the enthusiastic glow of sentiment, should rouse the mind which has yielded its elasticity to habitual subjection. Thus the ignorance and the vices of these wretches, are solely the result of situation, and therefore no evidence of their inferiority. Like the flower, whose culture has been neglected, and perishes amid permitted weeds, e'er it opens its blossoms to the spring, they only prove the imbecility of human nature, unassisted and oppressed.

"'Tis *Liberty* alone which gives the flow'r
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume;
And we are weeds without it."

He then combats with success, the vulgar opinion, "that manumitted slaves are nuisances to society," by arguments drawn from experience; which being subject to universal observation, need not be repeated here;

He next proceeds more particularly to the bill then before the house, and refutes with force and facility, the arguments adopted by its opponents. First, "that testators may impoverish their families by inconsiderate manumission in their last sickness.—They may be frightened by preachers, refined moralists, and others, when the mind is easily alarmed, and incapable of its usual resistance." Secondly, "that manumissions, by last will, may produce the untimely death of the maker.—Slaves knowing that they are provided for in the will, may destroy the master to prevent a revocation, and hasten the completion of the bequest." Thirdly, "that such humane provisions in favor of slaves, will diminish their value, by rendering them turbulent, disobedient and unruly." These are stated as the only objections to the bill, then before the house. To those who live in this enlightened age, they appear too trifling, to merit any refutation. They had, perhaps, some importance at the period in which they were urged, or Mr. Pinkney would not have given to them, as he did, a serious consideration. Time, however, has proved the correctness of Mr. Pinkney's ideas upon these objections, and rendered their fallacy so self-evident, that it would be useless to transcribe those ideas, for the perusal of the present generation. We will conclude, therefore, this imperfect sketch of Mr. Pinkney's speech, by inserting at length, its peroration; beautiful in its kind, and admirably adapted to the subject.

"Thus stands the question at present. A former legislature has created a barrier to the cause of voluntary liberation. They have forbid a manumission by last will and testament, or in any manner, during the last sickness of the owner, a time when the heart is most powerfully disposed to be generous and just. They have destroyed almost the only opportunity these wretches can have of re-

gaining the station to which God and nature have given them a title. They have thrown up an insuperable mound against the gentle current of humanity, to the additional injury of those whom they had already injured beyond the reach of justification. All this they have done without one rational inducement—without even policy to plead in its extenuation. Shall you then, whose councils the breath of freedom has hitherto inspired; whose citizens have been led by Providence to conquest, as glorious as unexpected, in the sacred cause of human nature; whose government is founded on the never moulding basis of equal rights; shall you, I say, behold this wanton abuse of legislative authority; this shameful disregard of every moral and religious obligation; this flagrant act of strained and unprovoked cruelty, and not attempt redress, when redress is so easy to be effected?

Often, Mr. Speaker, has the public treasure relieved the wants of suffering merit, when the bounty of government was hardly reconcilable with justice; but you have now submitted to your consideration, a case where the finer feelings of benevolence may be gratified, and right and justice, add their sanction to the measure, while the community sustains no damage. Yours, too, will be the gratitude of the millions, whom this day's vote may give to breathe the air of freedom; yours, the flattering approbation of the friends of mankind; and yours, the pleasing consciousness of having, under the influence of every nobler sentiment, unloosed the manacles of many a fellow creature, and led him by the hand, to **LIBERTY and SOCIAL HAPPINESS.**"

This eloquent speech, was delivered by Mr. Pinkney at the age of twenty-five, and would do no discredit to his riper years. No one who reads it, will say, that it is any thing else, than the effusion of a heart deeply and sincerely affected with the truth of those melancholy

sentiments, which reason and observation had compelled him to adopt. To those, who are unacquainted with the dark and gloomy state of the public mind, at the time of the delivery of this speech, it will appear strange, that the arguments it contains, could have failed of complete success; but, to others better informed, it will be surprising, that it met the success which, in reality, did attend it. Before its delivery, the bill which it advocated, was considered as an idle attempt to consume the time of the legislature, about a matter, impossible of accomplishment. After its delivery, many of those, who had stood forward in direct hostility to the bill, became its friends; and all who had professed themselves its advocates, however luke-warm before, were filled with ardor, in so much that when it was put upon its final passage, it was lost by only a small majority. This speech was circulated by the Abolition Society throughout the whole state; it was printed in almost every newspaper in Maryland. All admired it, for its eloquence, and very many were convinced by its reasoning. To it, in a great measure, may be ascribed the final success of this celebrated bill. The minds of the *people* were enlightened by it, and these took care to select for their organs, in the Legislature, those who would most faithfully represent their sentiments. This change in the public opinion, however, was not instantaneous. Year after year were Mr. Tyson and his associates, compelled to renew their attack upon public prejudice and private interest, until at last, in 1796, the bill completely triumphed.

The wonderful consequences resulting from the passage of this bill, though seen by the prophetic eye of Pinkney, as it would seem, when he speaks of the "millions that would bless the legislature of Maryland in af-

ter ages, for so benevolent a provision," and though they were most certainly foreseen by Tyson, were not anticipated by the generality of those who claimed to be numbered among the wise men of the age. Not to speak of the great results that have immediately flowed from it, as from their proper fountain—of the thousands that owe to it the sweets of liberty—it is daily working, and will finally consummate the triumph of universal emancipation throughout the State of Maryland. The immediate effects which it daily produces, become themselves causes, these produce again their consequences, and so on in unceasing succession, consequences will continue to arise out of causes, and causes out of consequences, until a mighty series shall be effected, the last of which will end in universal liberty.

The history of emancipation in Maryland, has proved that manumissions beget manumissions, that they increase even in a geometrical proportion. To those who are aware of this fact, it must be a cause of rejoicing, that so wide a door as that unfolded by the law alluded to, has been opened by the legislative arm. Before the passage of this law, manumission dealt in units: one by one, and at intervals, were emancipated, according to the caprice of the owner, or his desire to reward the long tried and faithful services of a favorite slave. Now manumission deals in hundreds: it has become a wholesale business, in which liberty by the mass, is bartered for peace of mind. The man, who on his death bed, tortured by the stings of conscience, at the retrospection of his past life, determines to be just, will not be partial. He will feel it his *duty* to give to all, what inclination might induce him to bestow on one alone.—When the terrors of eternity stare him in the face, he will not pause to gratify his petty preferences, but will make the clause of justice, and the act of mercy sweep-

ing and comprehensive. His example will be followed by others, who would not have acted without example; and these again will be imitated by many more, until light and liberty increasingly abound: not a single individual will dare rush into the presence of a just and merciful God, without first proving himself just and merciful to man.

CHAPTER III.

It is remarkable, that about this time, the subject of slavery, and particularly the slave-trade, to the coast of Africa, had begun to interest the attention of Europe.— There seemed to be a simultaneous effort throughout the world in favor of humanity, so long oppressed; and during the period when Pinkney was astonishing an audience of American legislators and slave holders by his bold attempt to lead captive in the chains of eloquence, the captive's conquerors," Wilberforce, in the English parliament, and Mirabeau in the national assembly of France, were endeavouring to rouse the torpid energies of *their* countrymen, in the holy cause of man against those inhuman mercenaries, who on the coasts of Africa bartered trinkets for his blood, and by an unhallowed speculation in foreign climes, exchanged this blood again for gold.

This holy unpremeditated union of philanthropists, living in places so remote; led on by men, who seemed born for the part they acted, so well were they fitted to the times in which they lived, could not have been accidental, "The hand of Heaven was in it;" which having permitted, for wise purposes, the cruelties of the African slave trade, and American slavery, was now about to

display its most glorious power, of "bringing good out of evil and light out of darkness."

We mention the subject of the African slave trade, because of the part Mr. Tyson took in its abolition. In that philanthropic phalanx of two hemispheres, which just after the period of our revolution endeavoured, though under different forms and disguises, to extend the maxims of that revolution, in theory and practice, throughout the world, the subject of this biography had a conspicuous place.—The dissemination of these maxims, had a direct tendency to strike at the root of all oppression, since they all enforced, in the strongest manner, the universal equality of man. In America, they had already established a mighty republic—in France, they had broken down the outworks of despotic power—in England, they had struggled to render her constitution in practice what it professed to be in form—a pure and free monarchy—and now, in all these countries, the same principles were working the abolition of the slave-trade, and the amelioration of the human condition throughout the world.

Upon the subject of this traffic, there were two theatres on which Mr. Tyson was called to act. The one much the larger of the two, and embracing the whole of the United States of America; the other confined within the State of Maryland. To play well his part in both, required all his energies and abilities. These he exerted to their uttermost. Upon a subject of such vast importance, it was impossible for any man to act alone, and with efficiency—he therefore, became the animating spirit of others, and marched on with them in their glorious career. There were two classes of men who seemed to have this subject peculiarly at heart—one of which, was composed of the different abolition societies throughout the United States—the other, of

the Society of Friends—of each of which, Mr. Tyson was an active and influential member. Delegates from the various abolition societies in the United States, annually met in convention at Philadelphia.—Here they formed the plans of all future operations, that required concert and union—which, if practicable, were carried into effect the succeeding year, reported according to their failure or success, to a future meeting—by this meeting again pursued or rejected, altered or enlarged, according to the dictates of reason and experience.

The Society of Friends, throughout the United States, took up the subject in those annual assemblies, which they have been accustomed to hold ever since their constitution, as a religious society. These annual assemblies, were six or seven in number, and the members composing each of them, were circumscribed within a large district of country. Though all these different assemblies did not, as did the abolition societies, meet by delegation, and in *that* way consolidate their strength, yet the same effect was produced, in a way equally effective: This was, by epistolary correspondence.—The quaker churches, imitating the practice of the apostles and primitive fathers, have always maintained, one with another, a regular, unbroken chain of correspondence.—Hence arises that uniformity of doctrine and discipline, which pervades this religious society throughout the world; hence, is to be attributed their union of sentiment upon all prevailing subjects of importance, however marked with novelty; and hence, in an especial manner, their union of thought and action, upon the great subject of the abolition of the slave trade. The telegraphic summons from the tops of the green mountains, met again its answer on the summit of the Alleghany—nor did it pause until south answered unto north, from the peak of otter.

The efforts of these two classes were powerfully aided by all ranks of men throughout the country, in whose breasts the icy fingers of self interest, had not chilled the warm feelings of human nature. The limits which I have assigned myself in the composition of this biography, will not allow a detail of the rise, origin and progress of the abolition of the slave trade by the *government of the United States*.—To do this, would require a treatise by itself, and would necessarily lead into the narration of many facts, too separate in their character, to admit of a logical connection with the subject of these remarks. Suffice it to say, that the same mysterious hand, which had at the same time commenced the great work in the two hemispheres, as if to shew, that in all holy undertakings, he is both Alpha and Omega—concluded it in both, at the very same period—for in the year eighteen hundred and eight, as the great Clarkson remarks, “England and America, the mother and the son, put an end to the disgraceful traffic,” which had so long rested, like an incubus of guilt, upon the breast of each.

The wise men of Europe have evinced their astonishment, that this traffic, the abolition of which met with the most serious opposition in England, and which even now is encouraged by other European nations, should have been abolished, as it was, with apparent unanimity in America. The patriotic reader will pardon me, if in as brief a manner as possible, I endeavour to unfold some of these causes.

The difficulties which impeded the progress of the abolitionists here, were very different from those with which those on the other side of the Atlantic had to struggle. To the latter, the most insurmountable obstacle was the apathy which pervaded the minds of those

whose duty it was *to decide* upon "the great question."—
The slave ships did not visit the coasts of Britain.—

"Slaves could not breathe in England;
They touch'd that country and their shackles fell."

To the people of that country, the horrors of the slave trade were only known by description. This description came so far short of the reality, and the reality existed so many hundred miles distant from the scene of feeling, that the feeling could do no justice to the subject.

The public sensibility, in that case, was operated on through the medium of the imagination only. Those familiar with the workings of that faculty, know full well, that though while the spell is upon us, we may be made to suffer with acuteness, or enjoy with extacy, yet that it is evanescent in its character, subject to be blown aside by the first blast of misery, or breeze of joy.—Nor is there much, if any difference, in this respect, between those cases wherein our imaginations are excited by tales of actual woe, and where they are known to have a fictitious original. If there be any difference, it can only exist when the real object of our sympathies is within our reach, though not within our sight: but it must completely vanish away, when removed beyond the capacity of observation, upon the farthest of the ocean's waves, or shores of foreign continents. With the generality of mankind, the first object of consideration, to every individual, is himself—the next embraces his family, the third his country, and then, by turns, the different nations of the globe; his feelings, his passions, his imaginations, grow stronger and stronger, and rise higher and higher, as they approach to—or become weaker and weaker, fall lower and lower, as they recede from himself, the great centre of attraction and repulsion.—

Thus the circle wave, suddenly formed upon the placid bosom of some expansive lake, at first raises aloft its rainbow crest, but in each successive undulation sinks it lower and lower, as it spreads wider and wider, until at last it mingles itself in undistinguished equality, with the mass of waters that sleep unruffled in their common bed. It is the philanthropist alone, who, regardless of the little circumference that bounds his own personal safety or pleasure, springs beyond the horizon, and seeks for miseries to alleviate, and sorrows to assuage, where ordinary mortals dare not tread, even with fancied footsteps. The great orators and statesmen, therefore, of England, who came forward at the call of humanity, to rescue the oppressed of foreign continents, shewed well their knowledge of human nature, by not confining their arguments to abstract speculations, upon the justice of their cause. They came nearer home to the feelings and pride of Englishmen.—They represented the slave trade as a tarnish on the British fame; a disgrace upon the national character, which, if not washed away, would degrade them in the view of an enlightened universe, and hand down their name for the execration of posterity. Yet even these arguments, with the generality of people, had not the desired effect. Even these could not dispel the universal gloom of apathy which rested upon the minds of men, whose regard for the nation consisted only in a concern for her *safety*, in which *their own security* was materially involved.

The second great obstacle in England to the abolition of this traffic, was its name. It had been dignified with the name of trade. It was a trade, too in which the wealthiest individuals engaged. Thus dignified by name and capital, this traffic became like all others, the subject of regulation and encouragement. Its abolition became a question of state policy—of expediency—For-

getful, it would seem, that they were debating about the policy, the expediency of murder, of barbarity, of crimes which should have been suppressed at the risk even of national dissolution, the members of the British legislature condescended to a pitiful calculation of profit and loss. They who opposed the Abolition, spoke of its interference with the prosperity of their colonies—of the loss which their sugar plantations would sustain from the want of laborers—of the injury which would be inflicted upon the English revenue from a decreased importation of colonial produce—of the loss of English shipping, which thrown out of this trade, and finding all others full, must rot in idleness—of the loss which the English navy would sustain, when this great nursery of seamen was wasted and destroyed—and a multitude of other losses, on all of which time has laid the stamp of vanity and folly.

In the third place, the wealth of those concerned in the traffic, procured them an influence with many of the Parliament: and this was exerted in their favor—I do not say that it was *actually* bought, in all instances. Every one familiar with the corrupt nature of man, must know, that there is a magic in the naked name of wealth, arising out of the reverence we are taught to feel for it from our earliest infancy, which gives it influence and power. Our natures are bribed by the very barren rays that play around the golden deity, and we feel an instinctive propensity to fall down and worship it.

It was by these obstacles, and others such as these, which my prescribed limits will not permit me to delineate, that the march of British justice was so long delayed.

Very different was the case on this side of the Atlantic. In the first place there was no apathy here, among

the friends of abolition; each was ardent in the cause.— The contest between them and their opponents, was the collision of light and darkness, holding divided empire over the minds of men, each struggling for absolute dominion. There was no room for apathy. The slave trade, carried to our very doors, its miseries spread in reality, before the eyes of sense. Those who had hearts to feel, felt as it were the electric shock of humanity, and were fired into action: while those, on the other side, whose indurated natures had become additionally hardened, by their continual community with cruel scenes; fought with a fiend like ferocity, which blackened their cause, and ensured its destruction.

With regard to the *policy* of continuing this traffic, the enemies of the abolition, did not venture a word upon that subject. We had no *colonies* to people, and as to *our own* country, it was already ascertained, that so far was it from standing in need of slaves to aid in its cultivation, we could do better without them; that the importation of any number of slaves, caused the exclusion of just the same number of freemen, and unless it could be shewn, that the soil could flourish better by the toil of the former, than the labor of the latter, in vain would they urge the *impolicy* of abolition. Besides even admitting that the importation of slaves had ever been justifiable, on the score of policy; that time had passed away, and it was admitted on all hands, that *further* importations were not only unnecessary, but injurious to the country. As it regarded our revenue, the destruction of the slave trade could have no effect upon it, even as it respected the duties upon imports from the West Indies. Since the exclusion of slaves from *our* soil, could not lessen the number there, and thereby abate the usual quantity of colonial produce.

As to the injury which our navy might sustain from the loss of what was called a nursery for seamen, it could be but trifling, since our navy was at that time very small, and had it been the largest, it could have sustained no damage, since the fact has been satisfactorily proved, that the African slave trade, instead of being the nursery, is the grave of seamen.

As it regarded the wealth and influence of those concerned in the traffic—the first not being generally very great, the other could be but small; and were it otherwise, the number of individuals, engaged in the traffic, was not large enough to make their influence very extensive.

In this country, the contest between these two parties was not a contest of policy or interest, in array against humanity. It was freedom, struggling for dominion over tyranny. Reckless of the past or the present, she bent her eyes upon the time to come, and saw in the destruction of her present hopes, the loss of future glory. Such a struggle could not be long; and accordingly the friends of abolition soon congratulated each other upon complete success.

The slave trade had been abolished in the state of Maryland, as early as seventeen hundred and eighty three. The maxims of the revolution, then warm in the hearts of our fathers, prompted them to this act of justice.

Thus is our country, in one sense of the word a land of perfect freedom, no *foreign* slave can breathe within our borders—to them no matter what may be the tincture of the skin, or the title of their would be lords, the flag under which they sail, or the accident that may have blown them hither, the first moment “their lungs receive our air, that moment they are free.” But look at

the inconsistency of man! While we proclaim liberty to all the world—however black, degraded or enslaved, provided they will seek for it within our borders, and while we proclaim that every human being in the land blessed with a white colored skin, however infamous, is and shall be free—we at the same time declare that there is a class of beings in our country, endowed like like ourselves, with the God-like capacity of “looking before and after” into time, possessing all the feelings and sympathies of men, from whom the precious boon of liberty shall be intercepted in its descent from heaven, and given to the winds. It is their misfortune to be born of progenitors, whom our ancestors with rapacious hand tore from their country’s bosom—bound and fettered in slave ships—dragged naked to these shores, and sold as they would so many beasts of the field, to those who bid the highest for them:—And this is made our justification!

CHAPTER IV.

About the year seventeen hundred and ninety two, the cause of liberty was very much retarded, by an act of our legislature, by which those, filing petitions for freedom, were made liable to the payment of costs in case of failure, and by which persons were obliged to pay all the costs which had accrued under one petition, before they filed a second.

We will, though a little out of time, give some account of the origin of this law, because it is important in the history of emancipation in Maryland, with which the life of Elisha Tyson was identified—and because it will

lead to a detail of facts with which Mr. Tyson was *particularly* connected—and shew in a striking manner the spirit and temper of the times.

In seventeen hundred and ninety eight, or seventeen hundred and ninety nine, a certain Thomas De Wit, of Baltimore county, having been on an expedition up the north river, brought home with him two boys as his slaves, the one aged about ten, the other about thirteen years. These boys after having been transferred from master to master, came at last into the possession of two gentlemen by the name of D——. The complexions of these boys—their hair—their features—form and general appearance, all led to a strong suspicion that they were Indians, or of Indian descent: and if so, unjustly held in bondage. But in addition to this, the boys themselves evinced their descent to be of Indian original, and young as they were, had impressed upon their memories, some of the traditions of their fathers.

Their situation coming to the knowledge of the acting committee of the Abolition Society, (of which committee Mr. Tyson was the principal member,) they determined by a full investigation to dispel the mystery which seemed to surround them—This they were the more induced to do, by their strong sympathies in behalf of the orphan brothers, at a great distance from their native homes, and all they held dear. They thought that if any one case of oppression could, here be more unjust than another, it must be that exercised towards the aborigines of this country. We had driven their ancestors from their native hunting grounds, and often with great slaughter; we had forced their descendants to retire into the farthest wildernesses of the west, to seek for sustenance; and were still urging them forward with an eagerness, which one would think could

not be satisfied, until it should see them drowned in the Pacific Ocean itself. We were indebted to them for our country—we owed to them ages of atonement, for wrongs inflicted upon them. It was therefore as trifling a duty as could be performed towards them, to treat their offspring with humanity—at any rate, to see that the law of the land was not perverted to the destruction of their rights.—That law, hostile as it was to every feature and complexion, not of the European cast, had not dared to lay its grasp upon the Indian skin, as it had done upon that of the African, by declaring *it* *prima facie* evidence of slavery. Yet often, as in the instance before us, was this law called in to lend its sacred sanction, to the oppression which it had denounced. The acting committee, therefore, of this society, thought proper to file petitions for freedom, in behalf of these boys, in the Criminal Court of Baltimore County. In consequence of these petitions, subpœnas were had against their claimants, who appeared and entered into the usual recognizances—upon which the petitioners were remanded to them, to await the day of trial.—Afterwards, however, and before the session of another court, one of the petitioners complained, by counsel, of the bad treatment of his master—upon which representation, the court declared, that if any gentlemen would enter into an obligation, binding themselves, in case the said Fortune was adjudged a slave, to return him to his claimant, and pay him the amount of wages which he might have earned in the interim—that the said Fortune should forthwith be delivered to the charge of such gentlemen. Immediately several individuals stepped forward, and entered their recognizances—at the head of which, stood the name of Elisha Tyson. The petitioner was then handed over to these gentlemen, to pass a small portion of his life, in liberty and peace.

The case of these boys excited universal commiseration—and even slave holders felt an ardent desire that the two Indian orphans might not be deprived of that freedom, which was the only thing of value they had inherited from their persecuted fathers. Evidence was collected, even before the filing of the petition, sufficient to throw a shade of doubt upon the title of the claimants—which doubt was increased by the *prima facie* evidence, impressed by nature, upon their form and features.

The trial of this cause was postponed from term to term, sometimes at the request of one party, and sometimes at the instance of another, until a very long period had elapsed, and considerable expense incurred on both sides. At length, the defendants being prepared, pressed for a final hearing.

The petitioners counsel appealed to the justice of the court, and magnanimity of their opponents, for the farther delay of one term only, when the return of their commissions, which had hitherto been prevented by unforeseen circumstances, would be certain. The court decided for an immediate and final disposal of the cause, unless the defendants were willing to induce the plaintiffs with a continuance. This they refused to do, although they had, from time to time, received a similar indulgence, at the hands of their opponents. The petitioners counsel thus compelled to withdraw their petition, determined to file a new one, which by law they were allowed to do.

In order to frustrate this determination, the defendants, at the suggestion of one of their counsel, famed for his acuteness, took a step unexpected and unprecedented.

This counsel knowing that a new petition could not be acted upon before the adjournment of the legislature, which was then in session, and (perhaps) foreseeing ultimate defeat, should the case be adjudicated, drew in the name of the Messrs. D's. a memorial to the General Assembly of Maryland, which, after a most plausible statement, concluded with praying that in all cases where a second petition should be filed upon the dismissal of the first, the last shall be rejected, unless it shall appear to the court, having cognizance of the case, that all the costs, attendant upon the trial of the former petition, shall have been duly and punctually paid, together with all reasonable expences and damages, incurred by the master, in the prosecution of his defence. This acute counsel knew very well the difficulty of prescribing bounds to damages and expences, which defendant masters might choose to term reasonable; and that the road to freedom would be much less expensive, as well as shorter, were benevolent men to purchase at once, and manumit these unfortunate petitioners.

This memorial, signed by the Messrs. D's, was referred by the legislature to the committee of grievances, and courts of justice; who, upon the *ex parte* declaration of the memorialists, founded one of the most irrational and undignified reports, that ever emanated from any legislative committee. It was irrational, because it not only assumed erroneous premises, but drew from those premises the most absurd conclusions. It was undignified, because it descended from that high and independent ground, upon which they should have stood, to enlist in a partizan contest, on the side of two individuals, against a respectable body of their fellow citizens. The following are the concluding words of this report:

"The committee further report, that the said society, in Baltimore town, are numerous, wealthy, and influential, composed principally of Quakers, Methodists, and Emigrants from Ireland, since the revolution; and that they are connected with another society more numerous in Philadelphia.

"That the Messrs. D—'s have incurred expences in travelling to Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey, and attending the execution of commissions, to the amount of two hundred and fifty pounds, which greatly exceeds the value of the slave; and it appears to the committee, that from the number, wealth, influence and industry of the society, with their extensive connexions, an individual has but slender chance of encountering them; and that if interest only was to be considered, he had better consent to give up a slave, than defend his right to him, when he is supported by such a powerful society.—That whatever may be the views and intentions of the society in general, the committee are of opinion, that, in this instance, they have interfered in an improper, indecent, and unjustifiable manner; and that their conduct has been unjust and oppressive, and cannot be warranted upon any principle by which good citizens ought to be actuated:—they are therefore of opinion, that the legislature ought to adopt measures to remedy such grievances."

In reply to this flaming report, the Abolition Society addressed to the legislature a calm and rational memorial; in which, after contradicting the misrepresentations of the committee, founded on the *ex parte* declarations of the memorialists, and entering into a full statement of facts, amounting in substance to what I have already detailed, in relation to the case of the two Indian boys, they conclude—"Your memorialists will take up no more of that time which the business of the

public demands, but feel the firmest confidence, that every member of this honorable house must be fully convinced, in the words of the "*report*," with only *few* variations, 'that whatever may be the views and intentions of the society in general, they have *not*, in this instance, interfered in an improper manner; and that their conduct has *not* been unjust and oppressive, but is warranted by every principle by which good citizens ought to be actuated; and that every suggestion and idea, that has been entertained to the contrary, has been founded upon the grossest misrepresentation and imposition."

This memorial arrived at Annapolis, timely enough to have a simultaneous introduction with the report of the committee of grievances and courts of justice. After the latter had been read to the House of Delegates, a motion was made that they should hear, also, the "*memorial*." Such was the temper of the house, that even this privilege was obtained with difficulty—the proposition giving rise to a sharp debate, and assented to by a majority of but six individuals.—"After which, the *question* was put on the resolution: "that the said society, in the part they have taken in behalf of the said petitioners," (meaning the said Indian boys,) "have conducted themselves in a most uncandid, unjustifiable, and oppressive manner; and their conduct cannot be justified upon any principle by which good citizens ought to be actuated." Strange as it may seem, this resolution was carried by a majority of thirty three. It was also resolved: "that the memorial of the said society is indecent, illiberal, and highly reprehensible; and, moreover, is as untrue, as it is illiberal."

If the committee of grievances acted an irrational and undignified part, in enlisting on the side of the

Messrs. D——s, in their private disputes, what shall we say of their principals, the delegated representation of the state? who though more exalted in rank than the “committee,” as a body, yet condescended lower than they, in the language of vituperation and unqualified abuse, against some of the most respectable and virtuous individuals in the community—who entered into the very feelings, malevolent as they were, of those whose cause they espoused? We shall be compelled to use towards *them*, by way of retaliation the language which they had dared to use towards this respectable society. In making these remarks, we allude to the majority of those who then constituted the general assembly.—There were some even among those who went the whole length with the friends of the memorialists, who acted under a belief that they were doing their duty, however mistaken the premises from which they drew so strange a conclusion—Our reason for saying so is, because some of these were of the highest rank in the state for talents, and character for integrity—Of most, however, we may not only say what we have said, but may also add, that being, like the memorialists, accustomed to hold large numbers of human beings in bondage, their sympathies for these two individuals, was only another name for self interest; and that as slaveholders, their hostility to the “Abolition Society of Maryland,” was only an attitude of self-defence against the anticipated attacks of that holy alliance of freemen against tyranny, which might one day against them, as against the Messrs. D——s, be exerted, to burst asunder those unlawful fetters, which it had been the study of their lives to rivet and perpetuate. The names of *such* individuals we can find recorded among the thirty one who lent their sanction to the following preamble and resolution, intended for the highest roll in the ladder of this injustice, but which, for the

honor of our state, was rejected—though by a majority of one only.—

“Whereas the people of Maryland have happily an efficient government, adequate to all the purposes of society, and have subsisting laws, which, as administered by our courts of judicature, have been found abundantly sufficient to protect all descriptions of people in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges, without the intervention of any association of men whatever; *therefore, resolved*, that “the society for the abolition of slavery,” established in Baltimore town, is altogether unnecessary; their conduct as disclosed in the case of the Messieurs D—’s, already become oppressive, and subversive of the rights of our citizens; and the principles of their association, as submitted to the house, repugnant to the laws and constitution of the state.” In addition to what we have already said concerning this preamble and intended resolution, we may add our belief that it was designed by some of those who framed it, as the first step towards the absolute and uncontrolable dominion of domestic tyranny over the whole colored population of this state.—The freedom of speech and liberty of the press, sacred on all other occasions, was to be proscribed when exerted in their behalf; and they who in future should have the temerity to step forward in order “to raise a humble bondsman from the dust,” buried there by the hands of *unlawful* force, were hereafter to be put under the ban of the state.

The “Society,” though abused by those who should have been their guardians, were not in a hopeless situation: for their public character, they had a higher tribunal than the legislature to which they could appeal—the tribunal of the *people*; and to this they did resort: they published the whole proceedings, accompanied with an ener-

getic address to "the citizens of Maryland." Which was received with enthusiasm in every quarter. The most enlightened portions of this state were long and loud in condemnation of the conduct of their delegates. Nor was the spirit which animated these, confined to Maryland. Throughout the United States, the newspapers echoed and re-echoed the voice of Maryland.—And the abolition society saw with pride the approbation of their own consciences confirmed and sweetened by the universal applause of their countrymen.

The conduct of the legislature, therefore, would have been a cause of exultation rather than regret to the "Society," had it ended at the point to which our history has brought it—what they had hitherto declared and resolved being nothing but

"The windy suspiration of forced breath," would have mingled harmlessly with the ambient air, and been despised like all other vapours, that are disagreeable without being noxious. But the passage of these, unfortunately, was the ushering in of the law alluded to in the commencement of this detail, by which the course of justice in the case of the two Indian boys was effectually arrested, and which has since been of serious inconvenience to the general cause of freedom.—For it was enacted that in all future cases of freedom, in any court of law in Maryland, where a first petition shall be dismissed, a second petition should not be filed, by the same party, untill all the costs in the preceeding case shall have been paid.

In the case of the Indian boys, the committee of grievances and courts of justice, had already estimated the expenses of the Messrs. D—'s to the amount of two hundred and fifty pounds. As there was reason to fear that the court, to whose adjudication the case

should be submitted, would confirm this estimate, the acting committee were compelled to abandon these unfortunate victims to their hapless destiny. Mr. Tyson at that time was extremely low and depressed in his circumstances, yet, even in such a situation, he was very desirous to contribute a great proportion of his small income to a subscription, in which he vainly importuned others to assist. The payment by himself, of the whole demand, valuable as money was at that time, would have swept the bottom of his shallow purse; and breaking up the foundation of his future wealth, would have destroyed the means of future and more extensive usefulness. But it is doubtful whether any single individual, unless he possessed the wealth of Cræsus, would have been justified in paying, out of his solitary pocket, the price of a second trial; because he would have been compelled to act a partial part—since such were the demands, occasioned by the passage of this law, that hardly the wealth of Cræsus could have responded to them all.

Considerable alteration took place in the General Assembly of Maryland after this contest; so much so that the abolition society ventured to petition them at the very next session, in behalf of the humane law, the history of whose origin, I have already, (somewhat prematurely perhaps,) described; and the changes at every election, (which is held annually,) continued to be so great, and so favourable, that in five years from the boisterous session of '91, this law was enacted.—All which fully proves, that the people of Maryland were not in general hostile to the views of this society; and that the legislature of '91 did not speak their sentiments, when they ventured to anathematize one of the most respectable associations of citizens that a good cause ever collected together.

About this time, the public attention was turned to the subject of the moral and religious instruction of the colored people. It was a novel subject at that time.— So necessary for the public welfare, was it universally thought, to keep these people in the profoundest ignorance, that the attempt to enlighten their minds, was at first considered almost an act of treason against the state, and provoked a warm contest in this city, between the friends and opponents of the measure. It was not considered as a question of justice, or injustice. No one pretended to support the abstract notion, that it was criminal to cultivate the human mind, in whatever body it might be found. The supposition of mind, supposes, necessarily, its capacity of being cultivated. As it is with all its capacities, the gift of God, to improve it is a duty we owe ourselves, and the very same reason which makes its improvement in ourselves a duty, makes it criminal to prevent its cultivation in others. This question, like that of the abolition of the slave trade, was treated by the enemies of liberty, as a question of expediency and policy. And their arguments, like those in the former case, even admitting that they established the end of their exercise, proved the badness of their cause. For they went to shew the *impolicy* of justice—the expediency of tyranny—the prudence of oppression—since it was admitted by them to be unjust, tyrannical and oppressive to enchain in ignorance, and mental abasement, the minds of those whose bodies had been fettered in slavery. Their conclusion, if logically correct, being one in nature with their premises, could not be other than corrupt. But the truth was, their conclusion was as absurd in logic, as their premises were false in fact, if the arguments through which they arrived at it, were such, as they have been represented by tradition. Time, however,

and experience, has exposed their fallacy to the satisfaction of all. Multitudes under the benign system of education, introduced by the abolition society, have been instructed in the ways of knowledge; and the lives and conduct of these have evinced, not only the safety, but the policy of that instruction. It has been discovered, that just in proportion as their minds have been expanded, has their conduct been peaceable and orderly: wisdom unfolds to them the necessities of their condition, the folly of repining, where repining could only beget additional sources of sorrow; and this knowledge produces acquiescence in their fate.

Religion, too, followed in the train of knowledge. In the present state of the world, in which mankind regard form and ceremony as indispensable to the worship of the Deity, some knowledge of letters is necessary; for without it these forms and ceremonies cannot be properly observed, much less understood. The disposition and capacity, therefore, on the part of the colored population for public worship, gave rise to African churches in the city of Baltimore. A sufficient number of these have been erected for the accommodation of the whole colored population of the city. They are well attended; and through them religion is brought, in aid of knowledge, to secure the public tranquillity, against the designs of those who might be disposed to disturb it.

Of these churches, two, large enough to contain a thousand individuals, acknowledge the fostering hand of Tyson in their establishment. One of them in particular (the African Bethel Church) owes its existence, almost entirely, to his exertions.

The abolition society of Maryland having existed seven years, become dissolved in the year seventeen hun-

dred and ninety eight. From that time Mr. Tyson supported, alone, the cause of emancipation in Maryland.—Alone, I mean, as the sole director and prime mover of the machinery by which that cause was maintained.—Assisted he was, no doubt, from time to time; but that assistance was procured through his influence, or rendered effectual under his inspection and advice.*

CHAPTER V.

Before we pursue Mr. Tyson any further in the course of benevolence, which we have been hitherto describing, let us look at him in another department of philanthropy. As though the theatre of his native state, and one class of men, were not large enough for the comprehensiveness of his charity, we see him in the wilds of the west, climbing mountains—traversing wildernesses—daring the rapid torrent—and plunging through the deep and expansive morass, to seek out the untutored children of the forest, and teach them the arts of civilization and peace.

The society of Friends, in North America, had at an early period turned their attention to the civilization of the Aborigines of this country. In their endeavors to effect this object, they pursued a course very different from that pursued by most religious societies on this continent. *These*, as an indispensable *preliminary*, have al-

*One of his most active assistants was his brother Jesse, much younger than Elisha. He followed him to this state a few years after the arrival of the latter, was an active member of the abolition society, and continued to the day of his death to co-operate with Elisha.

ways attempted to christianize the Indians, by sending missionaries among them. The society of Friends, on the contrary, have attempted solely to civilize them; thinking it most proper that christianity should follow in the train of civilization.—Experience has proved the correctness of the course. Christianity is not calculated for *barbarous* nations, nor has the attempt to disseminate its principles among them ever been successful.—A few, here and there, have been received as converted, while they retained their original manners and customs; but all of these will be found, on examination, to have been converted from one superstition to another—the superstition, not the religion of christianity.

But whatever may be the true opinion, as respects the practicability, no one, on reflection, can doubt the impolicy of making conversion to any religion, the forerunner of civilization. Though a few savages may be found, who will listen to the persuasive eloquence of the missionary, and believe the tales and adopt the legends of his religion, yet most of them will shrink from him with repugnance and disgust. There is nothing which all tribes of men cherish with such eager fondness as their religious prejudices—any sudden and direct attempt to root them out, will be regarded as sacrilegious, and, for that reason, received with horror.

We recollect having seen this sentiment forcibly expressed, and our whole doctrine on this subject eloquently expounded, in a printed address originally delivered by a celebrated Indian orator, around a council fire held at the request, and in the presence, of sundry missionaries, sent among them by a religious society in New York, for the purpose of converting them to their faith.

“The great *Sateretsy** who gave your religion to you, gave ours to us. Yours is the religion of white people—

*Great Spirit.

ours is the religion of red men.—Would our religion suit the whites? no.—Why therefore should the religion of the whites be suited to red men? Do we ever disturb the whites in the exercise of their religion? no.—Why, therefore, should they disturb us.

The Quakers treat us more kindly—they furnish us with ploughs, with horses and oxen—they do more: they shew us how to use them—they teach us how to raise corn and rye—they teach us how we shall be able to live, when the wild deer of our forests shall have fled beyond the great Miami. For all this kindness, they do not ask us to change our religion.”

I offer this extract, not because I approve of *all* the sentiments it contains, but for the purpose of shewing, that while such sentiments shall be entertained by the Indian nations, it will be impossible for missionary establishments to succeed among them.

So early as seventeen hundred and ninety-five, the yearly meeting of Friends, held in Baltimore, “influenced,” to use their own language, “by the kindness of the Indian ancestry to them in the early settlement of this country, and also by that exalted benevolence and good will to men which their holy profession inculcates,” believed it their duty to do something towards instructing the aborigines of this country in the knowledge of agriculture, and the useful mechanic arts.

For these objects, a subscription was immediately opened, and filled; deputies were appointed, who, with the approbation of the government of the United States, proceeded with instructions to visit the Shawnese, Delawares, Wyandots, and other nations of Indians, north west of the river Ohio. Little success attended, both this mission and a second one, in seventeen hundred and ninety-seven.—But a third, in seventeen hundred and

ninety eight, was more fortunate. Tarnic, the principal chief of the Wyandot nation, presented the missionary with a belt of wampum, as a token of great friendship, and accompanied the present with an encouraging speech, of which the following is an extract:

"BRETHREN QUAKERS!

You remember that we once met at a certain place, at which meeting many good things were said, and much friendship was professed between us.

Brothers:

You told us at that time, that you not only took us by the *hand*; but that you held us fast by the *arm*; that you then formed a chain of friendship. You said that it was not a chain of iron; but that it was a chain of precious metal, a chain of silver that would never get rusty; and that this chain would bind us in brotherly affection forever.

Brethren listen:

We have often heard that you were good and faithful people, ever ready to do justice and good to all men, without distinction of color; therefore we love you the more sincerely, because of the goodness of your hearts, which has been talked of among our nations long since.

Brethren listen:

You have informed us that you intend to visit us; yes, that even in our tents and cabins, you will take us by the hand. You brethren cannot admit a doubt that we would be very happy to see you.

Brethren listen:

It is but proper to inform you, at this time, that when you do come forward to see us, you will, no doubt, pass by my wigwam at Sandusky. I will then take you, not only by the hand, but by the arm, and will conduct you safely to the grand council fire of our great *Saster-*

etsey, where all good things are transacted, and where nothing bad is permitted to appear. When in the grand council of our Sateretsey, we will then sit down together in peace and friendship, as brethren are accustomed to do after long absence, and remind each other, and talk, of those things that were done between our GOOD GRAND-FATHERS, when they first met upon this great island!

Brethren:

May the Great Spirit, the master of light and life, so dispose the hearts and minds of all our nations and people, that the calamities of war may never more be felt or known by any of them! that our roads and paths may never more be stained with the blood of our young warriors! and that our helpless women and children, may live in peace and happiness."

Encouraged by this, and the like addresses, the society of Friends repeated their efforts among the Indian nations—established agencies among them—presented them with the implements of husbandry, and taught them how to use them.

It was necessary, in furtherance of the great objects connected with these exertions, that deputies from the yearly meeting of Friends, held in Baltimore, should regularly be sent among the tribes. There was no power of compulsion vested in the society for this purpose—their religious principles forbade the offer of reward:—those who accepted the difficult and perilous duties of the office, volunteered their services—influenced by no other motives but those founded in benevolence.

It was *thus* that Mr. Tyson, at the advanced age of sixty years, stood forward and offered his services to his friends.

As most of his way lay over mountains, through trackless wildernesses, or deep rivers, he was obliged to travel on horseback, a mode of conveyance more tiresome than any other, especially to an aged man.

James Gillingham, younger than Mr. Tyson, but advanced in years, and still a venerable citizen of Baltimore, influenced by the same benevolent feelings that operated upon Tyson, volunteered, also, to dare the dangerous journey.

In the beginning of the present century, these champions of human happiness, set out on their tour.

The close of their fourth day's journey found them at the foot of the south mountains. After crossing these, and the ridge of high hills beyond them, they descended into the broad and fertile valley of Connecocheague.

They could not avoid contrasting the beautiful prospect presented to them by this valley, with the barren ones, exhibited by many other portions of their native state: and as it was cultivated by the hands of freemen, they naturally concluded, that to this circumstance, this valley owed its superiority. The soil of Maryland, in every part, was fruitful, until slavery and tobacco united to impair it.

In a few days, they found themselves crossing one of the steepes of the Alleghanies, that huge ridge of mountains, denominated the back bone of the United States, and said to be the counterpart to the Andes of South America. In the midst of a storm of wind and snow, they descended to the plain, below, fatigued but not overcome.

They passed through Concord in the state of Ohio, where a gentleman, by the name of David Graves, nobly offered to share the toils of their journey.

On the twenty third day of their tour, they reached the town of Chilicothe, in the same state, where they were detained some time, in consequence of the unusual swell of intermediate waters.

After this, commenced their greatest privations; when after passing whole days without food for themselves, or (what is worse to the traveller) for their horses—compelled repeatedly to lie on the floor of some cabin, and occasionally on the bare ground—a stone for their pillow, and the canopy of Heaven for their covering.

They passed through extensive Prairies, one of which, forty miles in breadth, was a continuous marsh, through the whole of which they were obliged to plunge—So deep was it, that the hat of Mr. Tyson falling from his head beneath the feet of his horse, was sunk beyond the possibility of recovery. They began to be alarmed, lest their faithful beasts, fatigued by much exertion, would sink in the morass never to rise again, in the midst of an uninhabitable wild, waving its long grass to the wind further than the eye could reach, like the surface of the interminable ocean. Providentially, however, they crossed the vast meadow, and arrived at a habitation, where they and their half famished horses found food in abundance, and sufficient shelter.

On the thirty fourth day they arrived at Staunton, on the great Miami River, where they were detained several days, in consequence of the great and sudden swell of the neighboring streams.

At length, leaving Staunton, they rode through the Loramies, a large branch of the great Miami, the water rising to the saddle skirts. The Loramies being very serpentine, they were obliged to cross it again, but in a place so deep, that their horses were compelled to swim.

In this way, they continued to ride through forest and fen, and river—enduring the pains of hunger, and fatigue, through lonely regions, uninhabited save by the wolf, the panther, and the bear, until, at last, on the eleventh day of May, they arrived at Fort Wayne, situated in what was then the territory, but now state, of INDIANA.

This fortification was built for the protection of the north western frontier of the United States, and was, at that time, the remotest military establishment in that quarter.

Commencing at this post, and spreading in every direction beyond it, was the region inhabited by the various tribes of Indians; among whom the chief were the Potowatomies, the Miamies, the Delawares, and the Wyandots.

At this place they were immediately waited upon by the factor of the American government, Mr. John Johnston, whose house, through pressing invitation, they made their home.

Through the politeness of captain Heald, commander of the Fort, they were handsomely entertained at Fort Wayne—the captain and other officers spared no pains to render their condition comfortable. With these, and with the Indian factor, they immediately consulted about the best mode of serving the cause of humanity among the Indian tribes, and concluded to invite their chiefs and principal men to a conference within the walls of the Fort.

In the mean time, they held “a talk” with Winnemaha, chief of the Potowatomies, and others of that tribe.— This was necessary, as much dissatisfaction had been expressed by Winnemaha, in consequence, as he said, of ill treatment towards him, on the part of his great

Father,* who had promised to send some young men with tools to assist him in farming, but had failed so to do.

To do away this impression, they informed him, that an agent had been sent to the Potowatomies and Miamies, with the intention of assisting them in the cultivation of their lands, but that they had refused to receive him; the consequence of which was, that he was compelled to leave them and go among the Shawanese, from whom he had a much better reception. With much difficulty, they removed his prejudices, and appeased his anger.

Previous to the meeting of the grand council, to be held at Fort Wayne, it was thought proper to visit the Misissinaway Indians at a place of the same name, near the head of the Wabash river. At the time appointed, Mr. Tyson was unable to join his companions. The consequences of his great fatigue, and exposure, through his long journey, having affected him from time to time, at last burst with violence on his frame. Medical aid was immediately administered; and by care and skill, his valuable life was preserved. In a short time, he met his friends, who were then at the house of a friend, in the neighborhood of Misissinaway.

Here, they received intelligence, that the great bane of savage as well as civilized life, ardent spirits, had been introduced among the Misissinaway Indians to a great extent, and that at that time, they were so furious with liquor, that they were actually killing one another, Their chief, however, the celebrated WHITE LOON, was sober enough to lament the condition of his tribe, to execrate the worse than savage traders, who introduced poison into the habitations of the unsuspecting Indians, and for the sake of lucre, ruined the bodies and souls of those whom they were bound, by every tie of

*The President of the United States.

honor and humanity; to preserve from physical and moral harm.

With WHITE LOON, they had some considerable conversation; which, no doubt, was fraught with instruction, calculated to benefit him, and through him, his tribes.

Leaving this chief, they proceeded to a settlement of Indians on Eel River, not far distant, where they met with a better prospect, and more success. After they had communicated some instruction to these, they were informed the Misissiniways had returned to their reason. Thinking *that* a proper time to call them together, they invited a meeting. The Eel river Indians also attended. The assembly was large. Mr. Tyson delivered an address, in which he depicted the horrors of drunkenness, descanted upon the necessity they were under to cultivate their lands, and the value of industrious habits. The audience of red men listened with profound attention, and seemed deeply affected.

White Loon made a pertinent reply, but reserved many remarks, he said, "until the grand council fire about to be kindled at Fort Wayne." A few days after, our travellers, in company with several chiefs, assembled again together. The pipe of peace was handed round and instructive advice given to the Indians.

The day for the grand council approached, and the Indians began to assemble in the vicinity of Fort Wayne. The white Loon, chief of the Misissiniways, the chiefs of the upper and lower village Indians, the chief of the Eel river Indians, the Little Turtle, a chief of the Poto-watomies, Five Medals, a chief of the Miamies, Wapakee, a celebrated warrior, and several other chiefs of the adjacent tribes, together with a large number of Indians, met within the walls of Fort Wayne.

Of these, Five Medals, White Loon, Little Turtle and Wapakee, were the most conspicuous. Five Medals was famous for his dignity of conduct, his wisdom, and powers of oratory. White Loon for his courage in war, and great attention to the interests of his tribe, who revered him as a father. Little Turtle combined the skill and courage of the warrior, with the sagacity of a politician, and eloquence of a finished orator. He had been much grieved by the alarming effects, which the increasing use of ardent spirits had produced among his tribe. In the year eighteen hundred and two, having, in company with Five Medals and several other chiefs, visited the President of the United States, on his return home he tarried a few days in Baltimore, where, in a conference with "the committee of FRIENDS on Indian affairs," he made a most pathetic and impressive address on the subject of drunkenness. As this speech refers to the condition of the Indian nations, at the time of the visit of Mr. Tyson among them, and as his mission was greatly with a view to expose and alter this condition. It will not be improper to furnish an extract.

"Brothers and Friends:

When our forefathers first met on this great Island, your red brethren were very numerous! But since the introduction among us, of what you call spiritous liquors, and what we think may justly be called poison, our numbers are greatly diminished. It has destroyed a great part of your red brethren.

My Brothers and Friends:

We plainly perceive, that you see the very evil which destroyed your red brethren; it is not an evil of our own making; we have not placed it among ourselves; it is an evil placed among us by the white people; we look to them to remove it out of our country, We tell

them: brethren, bring us useful things; bring goods that will clothe us, our women and our children; and not this evil liquor, that destroys our reason, that destroys our health, that destroys our lives. But all we can say on this subject, is of no service, nor gives relief to your red brethren.

My Brothers and Friends:

I rejoice to find that you agree in opinion with us, and express an anxiety to be, if possible, of service to us, in removing this great evil out of our country; an evil which has had so much room in it; and has destroyed so many of our lives, that it causes our young men to say, "we had better be at war with the white people." This liquor, which they introduce into our country, is more to be feared than the gun and the tomahawk. There are more of us dead, since the treaty of Greenville, than we lost by the six years war before. It is all owing to the introduction of this liquor amongst us.

Brothers:

When our young men have been out hunting, and are returning home, loaded with skins and furs, on their way, if it happens, that they come along where some of this whiskey is deposited, the white man who sells it, tells them to take a little drink; some of them will say "no, I do not want it;" they go on till they come to another house, where they find more of the same kind of drink; it is there offered again; they refuse; and again the third time. But finally, the fourth or fifth time, one accepts of it and takes a drink; and getting one, he wants another; and then a third, and a fourth, till his senses have left him. After his reason comes back to him again; when he gets up and finds where he is, he asks for his peltry. The answer is, "you have drank

them." Where is my gun? "It is gone." Where is my blanket? "It is gone." Where is my shirt? "You have sold it for whiskey!!" Now Brothers, figure to yourselves, the condition of this man. He has a family at home; a wife and children, who stand in need of the profits of his hunting. What must be their wants, when he himself, is even without a shirt!"

The little Turtle was now old, and afflicted with the rheumatism, which had impaired much of his vigor, both of mind and body.

The qualities of Wapakee, were wholly warlike. He was of a gigantic size, stern, ferocious, and wild. Although he had lost his left arm, he was at that time, the bravest and most successful warrior of all the Indian tribes.—The red men looked upon him with terror, and trembled in his presence. His blood being a mixture of the Sioux and Potawatomy tribes, he professed to belong to each, and fought their respective battles. He was the chief who took the forty Osage prisoners, whom the United States, at a great price, had just redeemed. A war that had raged between the Osage Indians and the Sioux, had hardly been concluded by this redemption, when the former entered the territory of the Sioux, and killed ten of their warriors. The intelligence of this massacre, was then fresh in the memory of Wapakee, and unrevenged. He was therefore unfitted for consultation in a council, where the only topics of discussion, were the arts of Peace. He walked about with rapid strides, his forehead wrinkled with terrible frowns, breathing vengeance and brandishing his war-club in his hand. But the spirit of Wapakee which no dangers could terrify—no warlike power subdue—fell a prey to whiskey; and on the day of the grand council, he was sunk in inebriation. The assem-

blage of Indians on this occasion, afforded a fine opportunity to the inhuman sellers of whiskey, to vend their poison; which they did to such an extent, that Mr. Tyson and his companion thought proper to postpone a day later, the time of the meeting of the grand council.

At the hour appointed, the gates of the fortress were thrown open, and the assemblage of Indians admitted into the hall of conference. First, the chiefs advanced, took Mr. Tyson and his fellow missionary by the hand, and seated themselves apart by the side of each other. Their principal men next seated themselves, according to their respective rank and distinction—after them their young men—and lastly, the women, who occupied seats distinct from those of the men.

After a solemn pause, one of the chiefs arose, and stated, that they had come, not to make any speech of their own, except by way of reply to what the deputies might say to them, and were now ready to listen to their talk. It was then proposed, in the first place, to read an address that had been prepared for the Indians in that quarter, by the Committee of Friends in Baltimore, appointed by their yearly meeting to take cognizance of Indian affairs—next they read speeches delivered by little Turtle, and five medals on the subject of civilization—and lastly, they read a speech of their own, and the speech of little Turtle on the subject of spirituous liquors, an extract of which, we have already given.

Mr. Tyson then addressed the council. He painted in glowing colours the dreadful effects of intemperance—both upon civilized and savage life—told them that they must resolve to abstain *entirely* from it. If they admitted it at all among them, it would soon conquer them, and reduce them to a condition worse than that

of the brute creation. That not until they abandoned altogether, the use of ardent spirits, would they be fit subjects for civilization. If they were ready to do this, he would then unfold to them the blessings of civilization—the superiority of such a condition over the one in which they then subsisted.—He traced their history from the earliest period to the present time—shewed them how, as the white population had expanded itself, they had retreated into the western wilderness—that if they did not remain, but continued to retreat, in a few years they would have no territory upon this continent. In order, therefore, to their permanent establishment, he recommended to them the practice of agriculture, as a substitute for hunting. He advised them to mark out their lands, and ask advice of the agents established by the society of Friends among them, with respect to their cultivation. They stood ready, not only with their advice, but with their assistance—they were furnished for their use with all the necessary implements of husbandry—with beasts of the plough also, and beasts of burden.

They had come a great distance, endured much privation and fatigue, in order to see them, and must endure a great deal more before they could again behold their wives and their children. But they could bear it all with patience, nay with joy, if they could only have the satisfaction of seeing them adopt the disinterested advice which he had thus given them.

Upon the conclusion of this address, it being signified that the deputies had communicated all they had to say. The chiefs arose as their custom is, and advanced towards the deputies—these did the same—both parties met in the middle of the hall, the chiefs then with countenances of deep and solemn gravity, took the deputies

by their hands and grasped them with fervor. Immediately the whole assembly rose. The White Loon then signified, that if they were left by themselves for a short time, they would prepare their answer; after which, the deputies might return again. The deputies accordingly arose and walked towards the door. As they passed, they could not avoid remarking the thoughtfulness, in which the whole assembly seemed absorbed, no eye bent on vacancy, or wandering in curiosity, but all fixed and motionless, as if spell bound by the novelty and importance of the subjects which they had just heard discussed.

In about two hours, the deputies were informed, that the Indians had prepared their answer, and were ready to receive them again in council.

Five Medals first rose, expressed his approbation of what had been said, and hoped that the advice which had been given would be followed—"There is one subject," said he, "which presses on my mind. Your red brethren have always been taught to look on the President of the United States, as their Great Father.—When, therefore, our Great Father told Winnemah, that he would assist us, by sending an agent here, skilled in agriculture, with a sufficiency of every thing necessary to enable us to farm our lands, he believed him; and when Winnemah told his people, they believed, and rejoiced at the goodness of our Great Father.

Brothers :

When the time came, when we were to look for this aid, behold it did not arrive—tis true that you have told us that an agent sent by government did come to our territory; if this was so he must have arrived at a time when we were abroad; was it not his duty then to have remained until our return?

Mr. Tyson endeavoured, as he had already done, to explain this matter. He did so to the satisfaction of all, excepting, perhaps, the Five Medals.

The White Loon next rose, "in act more graceful and humane." His reputation among the Indians, for eloquence, was below that of the FIVE MEDALS, but on this occasion he proved himself superior.

"Brothers," said he:

"Ever since your great father Onas, (William Penn,) came upon this great island, the Quakers have been the friends of red men. They have proved themselves worthy of being the descendants of their great father. And now, when all the whites have forgotten that they owe any thing to us, the Quakers of Baltimore, though so far distant from us, have remembered the distressed condition of their red brethren, and interceded with the great spirit in our behalf.

Brothers:

You have travelled very far to see us—you have climbed over mountains—you have swam over deep and rapid torrents—you have endured cold, and hunger and fatigue—in order that you might have an opportunity of seeing your red brethren. For this, so long as life exists within us, we shall be very grateful.

Brothers:

That wide region of country, over which you have passed, was once filled with red men. Then was there a plenty of deer and buffaloe, and all kinds of game. But the white people came from beyond the great water; they landed in multitudes on our shores; they cut down our forests; they drove our warriors before them, and frightened the wild herds, so that they sought security in the deep shades of the west.

Brothers:

These white men were not *your* grand fathers:—for, as I said before, the sons of *Onas* were always the friends of red men.

Brothers:

The whites are still advancing upon us. They have reached our territory, and have built their wigwams, within our very hunting grounds. Our game is vanishing away.

Brothers:

Formerly our hunters pursued the wild deer, and the buffaloe, and the bear; and when they killed them they ate their flesh for food, and used their skins as covering for themselves, their old men, their women, and their children.—But now, they kill them that they may have plenty of skins and furs to sell to the white men. The consequence of this is, the game is destroyed wantonly, and faster than our necessities require.

Brothers:

We would not mind all this, provided these skins and furs were exchanged for useful articles—for implements of husbandry, or clothes for our old men, our women, and our children.—But they are too often bartered away for whiskey, that vile poison, which has sunk even Wapakee into the dust.

Brothers:

We shall soon be under the necessity either of leaving our hunting grounds, or of converting them into pastures and fields of corn. Under the kind assistance of our brothers, the Quakers, we have already proceeded a great way. You have witnessed, as you have passed among us, the good effects of the kindness of our brothers. We are disposed to go on as we have begun, until our habits and manners, as well as the face of our

country, shall be changed, and look like those of the white people.

Brothers:

Accept from us this Belt of Wampum, and pipe of peace.—And may the Great Sasteretsey, who conducted you here in safety, still go with you, and restore you in peace and happiness to the arms of your women and children."

After this, with ceremonies, such as those already described, but, if possible, accompanied with more solemnity, the chiefs dissolved the council.

Believing their further stay in those regions unnecessary, our travellers took their leave of their kind friends at Fort Wayne, and set out for home. The pains and privations of their return were, if possible, much greater than those which they endured in their journey outward. Mr. Tyson, especially, in consequence of previous indisposition, felt the miseries of weariness.—And ere the expiration of his tour, could not, but with great difficulty, maintain himself upon his saddle. The happy moment, however, when he was to throw himself into the arms of his wife and children, at length arrived, and he soon forgot his sufferings in their fond endearments.

In tracing the footsteps of these two worthy men, every thing we see is calculated to excite our applause and admiration. We applaud the philanthropic hearts that conceived purposes so noble, and the intrepid and manly spirits that dared to fulfil them, through a host of difficulties almost insurmountable.—And our admiration is raised to the highest pitch, when we see these good spirits, a thousand miles distant from their native home, in the midst of an illimitable wilderness, without

any state power or adventitious influence, with no support but the sincerity of their hearts, assembling the wild men of the woods—awing them into silence—softening their ferocity—and, by the magic tones of their persuasive voice, taking captive their imaginations while they described the dignity of civilized life, until the whole convocation of discordant tribes with one voice declared their resolution to change their manners and customs, nay their very nature, and become the docile subjects of law and government.

Mr. Tyson has left behind him no written memorial, whence could be obtained the particulars, no doubt deeply interesting, of this tour. Though he enjoyed the wild and romantic diversity of mountains and meadows, rivers and forests, that rose before him at every step, and could look with warm emotion through this grand display of nature, “up to nature’s God;” yet it was not for these that he left the comforts of domestic life. It was the grand moral scenery of the universe upon which his eye delighted to revel, and which he explored in every species of its vast variety. It was in his character of *father of the human race*, that he loved to adore the great first cause of all things.

CHAPTER VI.

On his return home, Mr. Tyson renewed his efforts in behalf of the persecuted Africans. Finding himself, as before described, alone in the cause, he redoubled those efforts, which one would think had already, been exerted to the uttermost.

The Domestic Slave Trade, which through his exertions, had suffered public degradation, still existed, though it was now conducted by the most abandoned of their species. It could not have been expected, that in behalf of those unfortunate men, who were the victims, and against those remorseless beings who were the actors, in this traffic, there could have been much scrupulous or ceremonious hostility on the part of Mr. Tyson. It was like the hostility of Hannibal to Rome, everlasting and terrible.

This traffic gave rise to an evil still greater—I mean the crime of *kidnapping*.—If the horrors arising from the first, were so great as I have described them, how shall I depict those of the other! Slaves only, were the victims of the slave trade. In passing from hand to hand, they merely exchanged one condition of slavery for another. And though, on such occasions, they fell from a less degree of misery into a greater, they could not number among their privations any thing so bitter as the loss of liberty. It was this that made the difference between them and victims of the kidnapper. Not that they laid their hands exclusively upon the freeman, for some times their rapacity seized upon a slave. But this was very seldom, for the vigilance of slave owners was always alive to detect, and their vengeance, to punish such daring felony. In almost all cases of man stealing, the stolen beings were of those who had tasted the sweets of liberty. To the kidnapper who made these his prey, there were great facilities for escaping with impunity. Not only because in the depth and darkness of a dungeon, his limbs loaded with fetters, and utterance choked with a gag, his suffering could not be made visible, or audible—but, also, because the deadness of sensibility, on this sub-

ject, which still pervaded the public, though in a less degree than formerly, seemed to have unnerved every eye, and palsied every ear. Sights of misery passed darkly before the one, and sounds of woe fell lifeless on the other.

But there was an eye that never slept, while rapacity was awake—there was an ear, open as the heavens, to the cry of suffering humanity.—They were those of Tyson.—Accordingly, we find him with the scrutiny of a censor, exploring every quarter, each dark avenue where suspicion lingered, to ferret out the man-stealer, and rescue his prey from destruction; bringing forth the one to punishment, and the other to light and liberty.

In doing this, he encountered much difficulty and danger. Many instances might be recorded, in which he evinced, a degree of intrepidity and perseverance in behalf of those suffering beings, which in another age, or another country, would have stamped him with the character of a hero. We shall select two or three of these, and give them to the reader.

On one occasion he received intelligence, that three colored persons, supposed to have been kidnapped, had been seen under suspicious circumstances, late in the evening, with a notorious slave-trader, in a carriage, which was then moving rapidly towards a quarter of the precincts of Baltimore, in which there was a den of man-hunters. It was late in the day when he received the information; which was immediately communicated to the proper authorities. As the testimony offered to these, was not, in their opinions, sufficiently strong to induce them to act instantaneously.—Mr. Tyson was obliged to seek for aid in other quarters.—He accordingly requested certain individuals, who had

sometimes lent him their assistance, to accompany him to the scene of suspicion, in order to obtain, if possible, additional proof. One after another made excuse—(some telling him that the evidence was too weak to justify any effort—and others saying that it would be better to postpone the business for the next morning,) until Mr. Tyson saw himself without the hope of foreign assistance.—But he did not yield or despair—one hope yet remained, and that rested on himself.—Alone, he determined, to search out the den of thieves—to see and judge for himself. If there was no foundation for his suspicions—to dismiss them—if they were true, to call in the aid of the civil power, for the punishment of guilt, and the rescue of innocence.

So much time had been spent in receiving the excuses of his friends, that it was late at night when he set out on foot, and without a single weapon of defence, in the midst of silence and darkness, he marched along until he arrived at the place of destination.—It was situated in the very skirts of the city, a public tavern in appearance, but almost exclusively appropriated to a band of slave-traders. Here they conveyed their prey, whether stolen or purchased; here they held their midnight orgies, and revelled in the midst of misery. The keeper of this place was himself one of the party, and therefore not very scrupulous about the *sort* of victims, his companions chose to place beneath his care. Mr. Tyson ascended the door-sill, and, for a moment, listened, if perchance he might hear the sounds of woe. Suddenly a loud laugh broke upon his ears, which was soon lost in a chorus of laughter. Indignant at the sound, he reached forth his hand, and rapped with his whole might. No answer was received. He rapped again; again all was silence. He then applied himself to the fastening of the door, and finding it unlocked

opened it and entered. Suddenly four men made their appearance. They had been carousing around a table, which stood in the centre of a room, when a little alarmed by the rapping at the door, they had gone in different directions to seize their weapons. Mr. Tyson immediately recognised in the countenance of one of these, who appeared to be their leader, the slave trader whose conduct had given rise to the suspicions that had brought him thither. Nor was it many moments before the person and character of Mr. Tyson became known.

"I understand," said he, "that there are persons confined in this place, entitled to their freedom."

"You have been wrongly informed," said the leader of the quartetto, "and, besides, what business is it of yours?"

"Whether I am wrongly informed," said Mr. Tyson, calmly, "can be soon made appear; and I hold it my business, as it is the business of every good man in the community, to see that all doubts of this kind are settled!"

"You shall advance no further," rejoined the leader, swearing a tremendous oath, and putting himself in a menacing attitude.

With the rapidity of lightning, and with a strength, that seemed to have been lent him for the occasion, Mr. Tyson broke through the arms of his opponent. As he had been repeatedly at this house on similar errands, he knew the course he should steer, and made directly for the door of the dungeon.—There he met another of the band, with a candle in one hand, and in the other a pistol, which, having cocked, he presented full

against the breast of Mr. Tyson, swearing that he would shoot him if he advanced a step further.

"Shoot if thee dare," said Mr. Tyson, "in a voice of thunder, "but thee dare not, coward as thou art, for well does thee know, that the gallows would be thy portion."

Whether it was the voice, and countenance of Mr. Tyson, or the terror of the word gallows that affected the miscreant, his arm suddenly fell, and he stood as if struck dumb with amazement. Mr. Tyson taking advantage of the moment, in the twinkling of an eye, snatched the candle from the hand of the kidnapper, entered the dungeon door, which was providentially unlocked, and descended into the vault below.

There he beheld a dismal sight, six poor creatures chained to each other by links connected with the prison wall! The prisoners shrunk within themselves at the sight of a man, and one of them uttered a shriek of terror, mistaking the character of their visitor.—He told them that he was their friend; and his name was Elisha Tyson. That name was enough for them, for their whole race had been long taught to utter it. He enquired, "if any of them were entitled to their freedom?" "Yes," said one, "these two boys say that they and their mother here are free, but she cant speak to you, for she is gagged." Mr. Tyson approached this woman, and found that she was really deprived of her utterance. He instantly cut away the band that held in the gag, and thus gave speech to the dumb. She told her tale, "she was manumitted by a gentleman on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, her sons were born after her emancipation, and of course free. She referred to persons and papers. She had come over the Chesapeake in a packet for the purpose of getting em-

ployment; and was, with her children, decoyed away immediately on her arrival by a person, who brought her to that house. Mr. Tyson told her to be of good comfort, for he would immediately provide the means of her rescue. He then left the dungeon and ascended the stair way, when he reached the scene of his pretended contest, he looked around, but saw no one save the keeper of the tavern." Fearing that the others had escaped, or were about to escape, he hastened out of the house, and proceeded with rapid strides in pursuit of a constable. He soon found one, and entreated his assistance. But the officer refused, unless Mr. Tyson would give him a bond of indemnity, against all loss which he might suffer by his interference. Mr. Tyson complied without hesitation. The officer, after summoning assistance, proceeded with Mr. Tyson to the scene of cruelty. There meeting with the tavern keeper, they compelled him to unlock the fetters of the three individuals claiming their freedom. They then searched the house for the supposed kidnappers, and found two of them in bed, whom, together with the woman and children, they conveyed that night to the gaol of Baltimore county, to await the decision of a court of justice. The final consequence was, the mother and children were adjudged free. One of the two slave-traders, taken as aforementioned in custody, was found guilty of having kidnapped them, and was sentenced to the Maryland penitentiary, for a term of years.

On another occasion, Mr. Tyson, having received satisfactory evidence that a colored person, on board a vessel about to sail for New-Orleans, in Louisiana, was entitled to his freedom, hastened to his assistance. On reaching the wharf, where the vessel had lain, he learnt that she had cleared out the day before, and was then

lying at anchor, a mile down the river. He immediately procured two officers of the peace, with whom he proceeded in a batteau, with a full determination to board the suspected ship.

When he arrived along side, he hailed the captain, and asked him, "whether such a person, (naming him,) having on board negroes destined for the New-Orleans market, was not among the number of his passengers? Before the captain had time to reply, the passenger alluded to, who had overheard the question, stepped to the side of the vessel, and recognising Mr. Tyson, asked what business *he* had with him? "I understand, said Mr. Tyson, that a colored person," describing him," now in thy possession, is entitled to his freedom." "He is my slave," said the trader—"I have purchased him by a fair title, and no man shall interfere between him and me."

"If these documents speak the truth," said Mr. Tyson, holding certain papers in his hand, "however fairly you have purchased him, he is not your slave." He then proceeded to read the documents.—At the same time a light breeze springing up, the captain ordered all hands to hoist sail and be off. Mr. Tyson seeing that there was not a minute to be lost, requested the constables to go on board with him, for the purpose of rescuing the free man, who had been deprived of his rights. The trader immediately drew a dagger from his belt, (for this sort of men went always armed,) and swore that "the first man that dared set his foot upon the deck of that ship, was a dead man." "Then I will be that man," said Mr. Tyson, with a firm voice, and intrepid countenance, and sprang upon the deck. The trader stepped back aghast. The officers followed, and descended the hold of the ship. There they soon saw the

object of their search. Without any resistance being made, on the part of a single person on board, they led their rescued prisoner along, and safely lodged him in the boat below. Then Mr. Tyson, addressing the trader, said: "If you have any lawful claim to this man, come along and try your title; if you cannot come, name your agent, and I will see that justice is done to all parties." The trader, who seemed dumb with confusion, made no answer; and Mr. Tyson requested his boatmen to row off. Ere they had proceeded half their distance from the ship, her sails were spread, and she began to ride down the stream. Had Mr. Tyson's visit been delayed half an hour longer, his benevolent exertions would have been in vain.

No one appearing to dispute the right of the colored man to freedom, his freedom papers were given him, and he was set at liberty.

Much has been said in praise of the moral sublimity exhibited in the conduct of Julius Cæsar, when he said to the pilot who was afraid to put to sea in a storm: "Quid times? Cæsarem vehis." "What do you fear? You carry Cæsar." And Lucan has enlarged upon it, in his "Pharsalia," in beautiful, though wild diffusion. —But even this scarcely equals the moral sublimity exhibited by Mr. Tyson, when he said to the slave-trader, who had sworn that the first man who stepped on board that ship, was a dead man, "I will be that man." The belief that fate was with him, made Cæsar despise the storm. But the certain assurance that God Almighty would protect him, caused Mr. Tyson to despise the assassin's dagger.

The whole life of Mr. Tyson was diversified by acts such as we have just described. Those I have given to

the reader may be considered as specimens merely, a few examples out of a vast many, which, if they were all repeated, would satiate by their number, and tire by their uniformity.

The joy manifested by the poor creatures whom he thus rescued from misery, on their deliverance, may be imagined, but cannot well be described. Some times it broke forth in loud and wild demonstrations, some times it was deep and inexpressible, or expressed only by mingled tears of gratitude and extacy, rolling silently but profusely down their woe-worn cheeks.

Mr. Tyson, it is remarkable, would always turn his eyes from these manifestations. He would listen to no declarations of thanks. When these were strongly pressed upon him, he would usually exclaim, "well, that will do now—that is enough for this time:" and once when one of these creatures, fearful that Mr. Tyson would not consider him sufficiently grateful, cried out, "indeed master I am very thankful, I would die to serve you." Mr. Tyson exclaimed, "why man, I have only done my duty, I don't want thy thanks;" and turned abruptly away.

We have before seen that it was not the love of human fame—we now see that it was not the love of human gratitude—the pleasure of imposing obligations—the avarice of thanks, that propelled him along in this career of philanthropy. It was a sense of duty—a love of divine approbation. Believing that his master had bestowed upon him "the ten talents," and would look for a corresponding increase on the day of account he dreaded to bury them in the earth. He cultivated them, until they produced not other ten only—or ten fold, but an hundred fold. For this he who would not listen to the thanks of men, or witness the

joy of their hearts, for blessings conferred by him upon them, now receives the praises, and mingles in the joys of Heaven.

Equalled only by the delight of the rescued victims, was the chagrin and vexation of the slave traders, when they saw their prey torn from their grasp.—They cursed the law—they cursed its ministers—but above all they invoked imprecations upon the head of Tyson.

These were not uttered in his presence—they were thought, not spoken—deep—not loud. The worse part, if indeed there were any degrees of comparison among them, dreaded as much as they hated him. All of them had felt more or less, and some very severely, the weight of his influence, and though they dared not court his favor, yet each individually was afraid, lest he might exasperate that vengeance, which he imagined him to possess, in common with himself. But when in company with others of the same fraternity, all fear hushed, and nothing but deep rooted hate awake, each bloody dealer, gave full vent to the boilings of his indignation.

They swore that they would murder him, that they would fire his dwelling over his head, that they would do a thousand things, all full of vengeance. None of these threats were ever put into execution, for though a plot was once laid to take away his life, fear dispersed the actors long before the day of performance. Thus does it always happen that the wickedest of men are also the meanest, and therefore the most dastardly. And thus did the cowardice of Mr. Tyson's enemies shield him from the effects of their enmity. Nor did he profit less by that *individual* fear of him, which these slave traders were made to feel.—They feared him because they deprecated his hostility. In order if possible to lessen this hostility, they frequently became informers.

on others engaged in the same traffic. This they were further inclined to do, in consequence of the jealousy that subsisted between them—a jealousy very natural to competitors in the same line of business.—It was always a time of exultation with them, when one of their number found his way into the penitentiary.

It sometimes happened that Mr. Tyson extracted from the mouths of these monsters, evidence, which afterwards went to criminate those who had uttered it. It was usual with him when he could not obtain testimony against a suspected person, to send for such person and interrogate him. No one refused his summons—fear forbid the refusal; and after they had come, the very fear which brought them there, sacrificed them to injured humanity. Sometimes those who came voluntarily for the purpose of criminating others, involved themselves in toils of their own weaving, where they were no sooner seen by the penetrating eye of Tyson, than he reached forth his hands and secured his astonished prisoner, before he had a suspicion of his danger.

Mr. Tyson's knowledge of the sort of people with whom he had principally to deal, was perfect. His quickness of perception and self command, were also remarkable. These qualifications gave him an extraordinary power in the examinations just alluded to. A Scottish Judge, the shrewdest and calmest of human beings, could not have interrogated with greater ingenuity and success, the criminals brought before him. Mr. Tyson would begin the dialogue in the most familiar style, and after talking sometime upon every day occurrences, he would introduce the principal subject of conversation as an ordinary matter. After dwelling upon it a short time, he would wander away, like one in a reverie following a train of images upon his mind, without any regard to

logical connection. He would then come back to it again; and in this way would wander and return, until he involved the party in a material contradiction.— Upon this he would build others, until having obtained a sufficient number, he would begin to recount them to the unsuspecting party. His attempts to explain these, would involve him in still further and more material contradictions, until at length, in the midst of great confusion and embarrassment, forgetting where he was or what he was saying—he would either surrender at discretion by a voluntary confession, or present a point in his armor, through which he might be pierced.— Sometimes he pursued a different course, varying his manner according to the occasion. We particularly recollect a conversation that took place in our presence, between Mr. Tyson and a notorious slave trader, a veteran in the business, who had once narrowly escaped conviction for the crime of kidnapping, and was at that moment laboring under the suspicion of having committed the like offence.

One evening the servant announced a stranger at the door, who wished to see Mr. Tyson privately. Mr. Tyson requested that he might be asked into the room, where we were then setting, and if further privacy were necessary, he should have it.

When the door opened and the stranger appeared, he was no other than the slave trader we have just alluded to.

"Your humble servant," said the man, casting off his hat and bowing profoundly, "I hope you are well sir; I have a few words for your private ear."

"Every one present may be safely trusted," said Mr. Tyson: "but sit down."

The man seated himself. "Well," said Mr. Tyson,

"what is there new in thy way of business, I suppose it continues as usual to be a *good* business?"

"Ah! sir," said the man, "I believe it to be a bad business, in more ways than one. I am relsolved to quit it."

"Not while thee can get two hundred dollars profit, per man," said Mr. Tyson.

"Notwithstanding that," said the trader, "its a bad business—its a hard business—I must quit it, and that very soon."

"Hast thou heard of the old saying," said Mr. Tyson, "Hell is paved with good *intentions*? I fear," said he, "when thee goes there, thee will find thine among the number."

"I know" said the trader, "you think me very bad, but when you hear what I have to communicate, perhaps your opinion will alter a little."

"I wish it may." But said Mr. Tyson, "thy progress, down hill has been so rapid, and thou hast got so far, that thee will find it rather hard to turn about and ascend."

These doubtings attended with a shrewd, suspicious, yet satirical look, had the effect intended, for the man became doubly anxious to do what he had come to do, and what he thought would be esteemed a great favor by Mr. Tyson. Accordingly, after a word or two of preface, he stated that he had reason to believe that ——— naming a certain trader, had kidnapped two free blacks.

"Thee is certainly mistaken," said Mr. Tyson, affecting great surprise; "it is *hardly* possible that so *worthy* a man could have been guilty of so great a crime."

This apparent doubt on the part of Mr. Tyson, made the man more anxious to bring out all his testimony.

"But who told thee this piece of news?" said Mr. Tyson. There was a breach at once, into the man's order and arrangement, and he hesitated for a reply. "Mr.—Mr.—Mr.—What do ye call him spoke to me about it." "Who?" said Mr. Tyson. "Mr. ———," said the man, mentioning the name of a veteran dealer in human flesh.

"Is he engaged in the traffic now?" asked Mr. Tyson.

"Yes sir, very deep in it."

"By himself, or in partnership?"—asked Mr. Tyson, carelessly.

"Why, I believe he is in partnership "with some body."

"Is he not in partnership," said Mr. Tyson, "with ———, naming the person whom the man was anxious to inculcate. I believe he *was*, but I dont know that he is now."

"Thee dont know of their having dissolved?" asked Mr. Tyson; at the same time, as if thoughtlessly, lighting his pipe.

"No: I do not—but as I was going to say," said the trader—

"Ah, true, said Mr. Tyson, we must not forget.—Thee was talking about a case of kidnapping; well?"

"Last night," said the trader, "a hack drove up to the tavern where I lodge. The hackman enquired the way to ———'s tavern, which is the place of rendezvous for ———, and his gang," naming the person whose guilt *seemed* to be the principal object of enquiry. "I looked into the carriage, and saw two boys."

Did thee speak to them?

"No, they were gagged, and that made me think they were kidnapped."

"Was any body with them?"

"No body but the driver, and he was black."

"Did thee direct him as he requested?" asked Mr. Tyson.

"Yes."

"And they arrived accordingly?"

"Yes."

"Did thee follow them?"

"No sir," not immediately—but I went this morning and enquired whether a hack with two boys and a black driver, had not arrived late last night? and they said there had."

"What o'clock last night was it when thee saw the carriage?"

"About ten, sir."

"Was the hack close, or were the curtains down?"

"The curtains were down, and that increased my suspicion."

Mr. Tyson had now heard enough to convince him, that if there was any kidnapping in this case, the trader who stood before him had a much nearer connection with it than that of a mere spectator.

He had said, in the first place, that he obtained his knowledge from a trader who had been partner with the party implicated.—He had then stated that he derived it from seeing the kidnapped persons in a hack.—And though it was ten o'clock at night, (at a time too, as Mr. Tyson knew, when there was no moon,) yet he could not only see that these two persons were in the hack, but that they were gagged.—He could not have

done this by the light of a candle, or the moon, because "the hack was tight, and the curtains were down."

Fearing lest the suspicions of the trader might be excited as to the sentiments of Mr. Tyson towards *him*, an end was put to the part of the dialogue which related to the kidnapping, by saying, "well I am much obliged to thee for thy information, we'll see this ———, and settle the matter with him;" and then turned the tide of conversation into a different direction.

The same day Mr. Tyson sent for the person who was first mentioned, as the person communicating the knowledge of the transaction, and asked him as to the fact of such communication. It was positively denied. —He had "not seen the informer for six weeks, except the last evening, when he brought a hack load of negroes to the tavern, where he and his partner were lodgers."

"Were two boys among the number?"

"Yes."

"Were they gagged?"

"Yes."

The moment this man left his house Mr. Tyson went in search of bailiffs, and civil process.—With these he proceeded to the place where the two boys were confined, and had them, and all three of the traders taken into custody.

It turned out afterwards, in the further prosecution of this investigation, by what testimony, we do not distinctly recollect, that the informer who first came to Mr. Tyson, had himself kidnapped the two boys.—He sold them to the person upon whom he had endeavored, in the manner we have detailed, to affix the whole crime—who refusing afterward to pay their price—and yet, determined to retain them, exasperated the seller

to such a degree, that he resolved to sacrifice him—in attempting which, he sacrificed himself—for he was afterward convicted, and sentenced to the penitentiary.

During the progress of any investigation, originated by Mr. Tyson, in behalf of individual freedom, his anxiety about the final issue, though concealed from the world, burned with intensity. His days were restless, his nights were sleepless, and himself, except when in company, which he avoided at those times, lost in the abstractions of hope, or of despondency.

When he succeeded, his joy was strong, but invisible or inaudible, save to the father of all mercies. To him he never failed “to pour out his soul,” in pious thanks givings for that he had made him a humble instrument, in the restoration of a fellow-being to light and liberty.

When he failed, which was seldom, after he had seriously undertaken a case, his sorrow was equally great, and as inscrutable to human observation, excepting that of the unfortunate objects of his care, who saw him mingling tears of sympathy with theirs of suffering.

Though Mr. Tyson seldom failed in those cases which he had commenced in legal form, yet very many persons were turned hopelessly away, whose cases were too groundless for adjudication: and often those who knew they had no cause for hope—condemned to be torn from their connections and sold, as if to death, never to be heard of more, would call, merely to obtain his sympathies, as if the universe had no other friend for them.

On all these occasions he told those who came, that they must submit to the law.—This they almost always

did, for they dared not hide, because of the hundred argus eyes which would then be opened upon them; or abscond—because by so doing, they would be banished from their wives and children, as they were then about to be—besides, they generally hoped for relief, until they found themselves within the grasp of the slave trader, where (they might have said, as has been sung of the infernal regions,)

“Hope never comes, that comes to all,
But sorrow without end.”

There was relief, however, even after hope had departed, and that was some times sought for, and found in death, or in voluntary disability inflicted by the unfortunate sufferer upon himself.

A man, who lived with his master, in Anne Arundel county, came late one evening to Mr. Tyson, and begged that he would listen to his case. His master had promised him his freedom, provided he would raise, and pay him the sum of five hundred dollars in six years; and he had earned half of the money, which he had given his master. The six years were not expired, yet he was about to be sold to Georgia. Mr. Tyson asked “if there was any receipt for the money.”—“No.” “Was there any witness who could prove its payment?” “No body, but his master’s wife.” Then, said Mr. Tyson, “the law is against thee, and thou must submit. I can do nothing for thee.” “Never,” said Mr. Tyson, when relating this story, “shall I forget the desperate resolution which shewed itself in the countenance and manner of this man, when he said with clenched fist, his eyes raised to heaven, his whole frame bursting with the purpose of his soul, while a smile of triumph played around his lips—“I will die before the Georgia man shall have me;” and, then, sud-

denly melting into a flood of tears, he said, "I cannot live away from my wife and children."—After this poor fellow had left me, said Mr. Tyson, I said to a person present, "that is no common man, he will do what he has resolved."

A short time afterwards, the remains of a colored person who had been drowned in the basin, at Baltimore, were discovered. The fact coming to the knowledge of Mr. Tyson, he went to see the body, and recognized in its features, and from its dress, the remains of the unfortunate man, who, a short time before, had breathed the deathful resolution in his presence.

CHAPTER VII.

We have hitherto proceeded in this biography without much regard to dates, because it would have been impossible to have detailed them, and because such detail if it had been made, would have been without utility.

The period of the return of Mr. Tyson, from his western tour, was about the year one thousand eight hundred and one, between which time, and the year one thousand eight hundred and eighteen, have occurred the incidents described in the last chapter.

In the year one thousand eight hundred and seventeen, he signalized himself, by his success in procuring the passage of a law, further ameliorating the condition of the African race in Maryland.

In this state a dark colored skin is *prima facie* evidence of slavery.—It becomes every colored person therefore,

whose freedom is called in question, to rebut this presumption, by stronger presumptions, or by positive proof. Until the year one thousand eight hundred and seventeen, this principle was carried so far, that in all cases where a colored person was committed to prison, on suspicion of being a runaway, he was sold as a slave for his gaol fees, if after due notice given in the public prints, no one claimed him, or he could not establish his freedom in a court of justice. In consequence of this, many a poor wretch, entitled to his freedom, was doomed to perpetual slavery. Where they were born free, it often happened that they could not obtain the testimony necessary to prove it; and where they had been manumitted, it often occurred that the papers giving them their freedom were lost, or were stolen by the miscreant who arrested them, under circumstances which precluded the possibility of supplying their loss, in due time. Certain of the lowest grade of constables were constantly, like blood-hounds, on the hunt, in pursuit of those helpless creatures. The streets and roads were scoured of all such colored persons who could not, when called upon, produce, instantly, proof irrefragible of their freedom, and our newspapers were continually crowded with advertisements, beginning with "was committed to the gaol of Baltimore county, as a runaway," and ending with "the owner is requested to come, pay charges, and take him away, otherwise he will be sold for his gaol fees."

To these grand auctions of the state of Maryland, held before the front door of every county gaol, thronged the savage slave traders, who, in the absence of all honest and feeling purchasers, found here cheap bargains, and indisputable titles.

Many an individual who had been incarcerated, and marked for sacrifice on such occasions, has blessed Mr. Tyson as his saviour. At a time when all the world seemed deaf to their cries for help—when those who should have pitied, shut their eyes or passed by upon the other side, the good Samaritan stepped in, administered the oil of joy to the sufferer, and clothed him in the white robe of liberty.

At length, through the exertions of Mr. Tyson, repeated from year to year, through a long succession of years, in one thousand eight hundred and seventeen, a law was enacted, making it the duty of the sheriffs of the several counties, to discharge all colored persons confined as runaways from custody, if, within a time limited, no one stepped forward to claim them as his property.

In the same year he was enabled to procure the passage of another law of great service to the cause of freedom. Under the unlimited powers of sale formerly possessed by the masters of slaves, they might sell to men not resident in the state, colored persons entitled to freedom after the expiration of a term of years. The consequence of this, was that, of the numerous individuals, vested in this way with a future right to freedom, very many were sold out of the state, and often into perpetual bondage. For, to them, in a distant land, in the midst of universal slavery, strangers to every human being around them, of what avail would be the language of complaint? The southern slave-traders were always on the alert to pounce upon such victims.—They could purchase slaves entitled to their freedom after the lapse of a few years, for a very small sum,

and woe, to those, who under such circumstances, fell into their hands. Never did they retrace the footsteps that marked their progress to the land of horrors. The bright anticipations of liberty, which like the solar rays upon the farther verge of some black and threatening cloud, gilded the future of their existence, were covered with ever-during dark despair.

All these evils were prevented by the passage of the law last alluded to, which made it a penitentiary offence to sell out of the state of Maryland, a slave entitled to his freedom on the expiration of a term of years.

It is not a little surprising that the subject of this biography, notwithstanding his great attention to the general interests of humanity, was enabled faithfully to conduct the particular concerns of his family. Nay, so to conduct them as to acquire solely by his own industry, a very large fortune. His business was the manufacturing of flour, which, during all the time in which he was engaged in it, was exceedingly profitable. It has always been much pursued in the city of Baltimore, not only on account of its profits, but also, because of the peculiar facilities afforded to it in this part of the world. Several strong and never failing streams of water, mingle themselves with the tide at Baltimore, each presenting in its wide meanderings, a long chain of mill seats; added to this, wheat and Indian corn are staples of our state, and produced in rich abundance.

As Mr. Tyson advanced in years, he found this combination of public and private cares too much for endurance; he saw that he must abandon the one or the other, and he choose to give up the latter. Accordingly he retired from business in the year 1818, and gave the

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whole of his time and talents to the great cause of philanthropy.

Having succeeded in scattering far and wide the principles of liberty and the spirit of benevolence, he thought he might now with safety call upon his fellow-citizens for their practical assistance. In enquiring out the mode in which this call might be successfully made, it occurred to him that a public notice inviting all humane persons to assemble for the purpose of forming a Protection Society, would be the most efficient. The word "abolition" he knew to be a great bug bear with most of the community, and that Abolition Societies in the Southern states had merely, by their title, proved stumbling blocks in the way of much benevolence. He chose therefore the establishment of a Protection Society, the object of which should be the protection of all colored persons, free or enslaved, in the enjoyment of their *legal* rights. No individual reverencing the existing laws, could object to such an institution; and as it sought not directly (however it might lead to it remotely) the abolition of slavery, even slave-holders might with propriety become its members.

Accordingly after Mr. Tyson had sufficiently agitated the subject in the public newspapers, a notice was published, inviting all persons, friendly to the establishment of such an institution, to assemble for the purpose, at the City Council Chamber, in South-street.

Many of the most influential citizens of Baltimore obeyed the invitation, and the chamber was crowded. Every eye was immediately in search of the grand mover of the drama, when they found that he was absent, and upon enquiry, that he would not be present.—He absented himself because he feared least he who

had received and braved public obliquy from his earliest infancy, for supporting the cause of the degraded Africans, might now be considered as ambitions of distinction or applause, when the same cause had grown into some degree of popularity through his exertions.— In order, therefore, to shun that distinction or applause, he refused to attend the aforesaid meeting, or to become a member of any society which they might choose to form. His being at the head of such an institution, would not have increased his benevolent exertions, and he hoped that those who should be appointed to leading stations in it, would for that reason, be stimulated to efforts which they would not otherwise have made.

The society, therefore, was formed without him, consisting of slave-holders, as well as non-slave-holders, and proceeded immediately into active operation.— Its style was "The Protection Society of Maryland," and its object "to protect the colored population of this state in the enjoyment of their *legal* privileges."

This society in a very short time died away. Its President, the late Abner Neal, its Secretary, William E. Coale, together with one of its counsel and a few others, hung together by a desperate effort for some time, but the weight of pecuniary obligations, to which its officers were liable by virtue of their stations, broke the bands asunder by which they were connected; and with them sunk the whole establishment.

It might have subsisted perhaps, until the present hour, in active and extensive operation, if the exertions of one individual, who was the chief instrument of Mr. Tyson in its formation, had not been withdrawn. The object of this person was to be at the head of the insti-

tution, and rather than not be there, "choose not to be at all." His retirement drew with it many who would have continued, by his continuance, and unnerved the exertions of others, who wanted the stimulus of high example. Thus does ambition continue on earth as it did in Heaven, by its seductions to poison virtue, and sacrifice the holiest purposes to the vilest of designs.

During the existence of this society, and after its abolition, Mr. Tyson continued unabatedly his exertions. Indeed these seemed to gather ardor in the increase of years, as the daily laborer in an earthly vineyard gathers strength when he beholds the shades of evening; because they foretell him that his reward is nigh.

In the year 1822 the union of these states was shaken to its centre, by the agitation of what has been called the Missouri question. For the information of those abroad, we will state in a very few words what was meant by this term.

The territory of Missouri (lying along the west bank of the Mississippi river, between 36° and $40\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. Lat.) being sufficiently peopled, and its inhabitants having complied with every necessary prerequisite, they petitioned congress to be constituted one of the confederacy of states. This petition met with a most formidable opposition, in consequence of a clause in the constitution of the intended state, legalizing slavery. As was to be expected, the slave holding-states took part *with* Missouri, and those of an opposite character, *against* her. The South was arrayed against the North. It was a war of prejudices and passions. Neither side looked much at consequences. But though prejudice and passion had too

much to do in this contest, yet the rights of nature and humanity were on the side against Missouri. Where these were, there was Mr. Tyson.

The city of Baltimore being the metropolis of a slave holding state, it was generally supposed that her sentiments were in favor of the unqualified admission of Missouri into the Union. But Mr. Tyson believed the contrary, and was determined to convince the world that the belief was not founded in error.—He procured an advertisement to be published, inviting a public town meeting, to be held in the court house, for the purpose of taking into consideration, the propriety of petitioning Congress, against the claims of Missouri. The doors were to be opened for the admission of all, and the discussion on both sides of the question to be without restraint.

Previous to the time of meeting he solicited several gentlemen of known talents, to prepare themselves for argument on the side which he and they had adopted.—They consented, and the report getting abroad that such individuals were to speak against the demands of Missouri, corresponding advocates started up on the other side.

The meeting assembled. The Mayor of the city—Edward Johnson, Esquire, presided. As was expected, the debate was warm and vigorous. Mr. Tyson took no part in it, for nature had not thought it necessary, to bestow upon him the powers of oratory.—But he sat burning with anxiety about the event of a storm, which he had conjured into existence. We will not recount the arguments, urged with eloquence on each side.—Similar arguments have been used upon the floor of

Congress—they have been published and re-published to the world—to repeat them now, would be harping a tune already so often repeated, that what was music once, has at length become discord.

The debate lasted until a late hour, when there was an unanimous cry for the question, which was, whether a memorial should be presented to the citizens of Baltimore for signature, remonstrating against the admission of Missouri into the Union, unless she would expunge from her constitution the clause in it legalizing slavery? When this question was first taken, though the chairman decided in favour of the affirmative side, yet such was the apparent equality into which the meeting was divided, that the most discriminating ear might easily have been puzzled how to decide. The question was again loudly called for. Upon estimating numbers, or rather upon comparing masses, the majority was decidedly on the side in favor of the memorial.

In less than one week, more than two thousand memorialists subscribed their names; and had delay been prudent, a large majority of the voters of Baltimore would have followed their example. But the subject was then under Congressional discussion, and the period at hand, when it would be too late to receive memorials—Success, therefore, depended on despatch.

When the news, that a memorial on the subject of the Missouri question was preparing in Baltimore, arrived at Washington, many concluded that it partook of the general character of all such memorials, when they emanated from the south. This impression was confirmed when on its arrival being announced upon the floor of Congress, the eager eyes of the contending parties beheld its almost interminable length, while

one of the representatives from Baltimore, unfurled its columns. "It might possibly be," thought they, "that some individuals, in the slave holding city of Baltimore, would wish us to oppose the views of Missouri, but that such a vast catalogue of persons as is there enrolled, outnumbering every list which has yet been presented to us upon either side of this question, should come from that city, is not for a moment to be supposed."

When, therefore, the reading of this memorial had dispelled the delusion which enveloped it—the whole house were ready to exclaim with astonishment. Looking first one at the other, and then at the memorial, they seemed to doubt the evidence of their senses. The enemies of slavery were filled with exultation, and her friends with disappointment and chagrin.

Whether this memorial aided very considerably in inducing the house to decide against the claims of Missouri, we cannot determine, but we believe its effect to have been greater than that of any other memorial on the same subject—because it came from a slave-holding district, and because it seemed to speak almost unanimously the sentiments of that district.

At length a final end was put to this discussion, and Mr. Tyson, with many other wise and good men, had to regret, that the spirit of slavery, which in its native shape had been spurned from our representative hall, should have found admission in the form of compromise and concession. Thus was it that she obtained a complete triumph over those who had proclaimed to the world in the early part of the contest, that they were fighting for a matter of principle, not of expediency.—For when they consented that Missouri should be ad-

mitted into the Union, although that consent was accompanied with a proviso, by which the admission of slaves into the territories of the United States beyond the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude was prohibited—yet it was a sacrifice of the very principle, for which they had so strenuously contended.—This was all that was desired by the southern representatives, and they cheerfully surrendered in exchange, for this recognition of their principle for which *they* had struggled, the right to convey their slaves into the other territories of the United States. This surrender was a matter of expediency merely, and they lost nothing by it, whereas they gained every thing in exchange.

Mr. Tyson had now attained his seventieth year.—The infirmities of old age began to press heavily upon one, whose mind and body had been in such incessant and laborious operation. Looking to his death as an event, not far distant, and anxious that the cause, in which he had spent the greater portion of his life, should not die with him, he began to meditate upon the best means of preserving it. Having witnessed the early dismemberment of two societies, instituted for the avowed purpose of advancing this cause, he abandoned every idea of establishing a third upon similar principles.

Considerable funds were necessary in the prosecution of the system of benevolence in which he had been engaged.—And though he could find no one who would run the risk of undergoing this expense, or take upon himself the trouble of soliciting voluntary contributions, yet he could find individuals, who would bear all other burthens. It became, therefore, his principal

object to contrive some permanent mode, by which the necessary funds should in future be obtained.

As the colored population were more immediately interested in this matter, as they were very numerous, and as many of them were in easy circumstances, he thought he might with confidence look to these as a source of lasting and effectual relief. Accordingly he requested their preachers to announce to their respective congregations, that at a certain time, and in a certain place, he would wish to see assembled all those of their adult male members who could conveniently come.

Mr. Tyson had adopted this measure, without consulting a single individual, and it continued a secret even to his friends, until a few minutes before the hour of the appointed meeting, when he sent for a young gentleman who usually accompanied him on all such occasions, and exposing the whole design, requested his assistance. It was readily granted.

When they arrived at the place of meeting, which was in one of the largest of the African churches, they found every avenue of entrance crowded to excess, by the overflowings from the interior of the church, which is capable of containing near two thousand souls.

The news of Mr. Tyson's approach, soon passed from ear to ear, upon the conveyance of a thousand tongues, each uttering it to his neighbor.—Every foot pressed forward, that the eyes of all might behold the venerable man, who had grown grey in vindicating their rights. Gratitude beamed from every countenance, and innumerable voices invoked blessings on him and his children.

The press was so great, that it was with difficulty that Mr. Tyson and his companion could make their way

through it, to an enclosure within the altar of the church, fitted up for his reception. When he had seated himself, a sudden and universal silence pervaded the whole assembly, and continued for the space of ten minutes. At length he arose upon his feet—all was deep attention, while he spoke to the following effect.

“You already know by whom this large assembly has been called together. You know also that the object intended by it, is something connected with the general good of your race. Of the particulars you are now to be informed. In one word then, my object is to call upon you to come forward and render *your* assistance for the first time, to those of your color, who are oppressed contrary to the law of the land. This kind of assistance you have a right to render. I would be the last man in the world to ask you to go beyond this. I say the assistance you may render on this occasion, will be rendered for the first time. Is it not true? I do not say this in order to censure you, for you never have been called upon until now for that assistance. I mention it with a view to induce you now to come forward with greater zeal. If I had a long lease of my life—if I were vigorous and strong—if all other means of obtaining aid, had not failed, and if I had not lost all hopes of procuring any other in time to come, I would not even now call upon you for yours, because I am sensible that much censure will fall from the unreflecting part of my fellow citizens, upon the cause which I have espoused on all occasions, by the step which I have this day dared to take. But it is matter of necessity, intended to prevent evil, and I trust that the Father of Mercies will turn it to a good account. I am now old and weak—in the course of a few days I shall be gathered to my fathers. The

greater portion of this audience will perhaps never see my face again. I know not who will befriend you after I am gone, unless you become friends to one another.

I propose to you that you form a society, whose duty it shall be to raise subscriptions, from among your number, and to deposit the money in the hands of certain white persons whom I shall name, in whom you may place the utmost confidence. There are many among you able to subscribe: some of you are blessed with abundance. It is time, therefore, that you should come forward and do away what has very much injured your cause, that is, a belief that you are destitute of the *sympathies* of human nature. The mode in which you are to do this, I leave to yourselves." He then sat down amid a general expression of satisfaction, and hearty co-operation.

The address of Mr. Tyson, the skeleton of which, only we have given to the reader, produced on its delivery a powerful effect. He was frequently interrupted by expressions of feeling, and ere he had finished not a tearless eye could be seen around him. They were tears of gratitude and sorrow—gratitude for his unequalled kindness toward them and their race—and sorrow at the thought that the time was at hand when the fountain of so much benevolence would be sealed by death. "They sorrowed more than all for the words which he spake, that they might see his face no more."

One of the audience arose and recommended that a subscription be raised forthwith. His advice was adopted with acclamation—and they began to pour forth upon the communion table, that stood by the altar, offerings as pure and acceptable, in the sight of heaven, as had ever rested upon it.—A considerable sum was soon

collected, which has since proved of great service in the cause of emancipation.

Mr. Tyson left this meeting, amidst increased demonstrations of reverence and affection. Those present, on his departure immediately organized themselves, and took the first step towards the formation of a society that has since been completed. The sole object for which it exists, is the raising of funds among the colored people, to be deposited into the hands of white persons, chosen by themselves, for the purpose of administering to the necessitous among their brethren.

If any thing could add to the high character which the reader had already conceived of the subject of this biography, it was this anxious solicitude about the future condition of the cause in which he had been so long engaged. Mankind are generally satisfied with doing good while they are alive, and trust that future generations will take care of themselves. But Mr. Tyson felt otherwise: he saw that what he had done was only a beginning, in the cause of emancipation; that in vain had been all his sacrifices, if it were to die in prematurity; he therefore looked into the future of time, and rested not until, like a tender parent, he had bequeathed the means of future living to his offspring.

CHAPTER VIII.

We are now about to call the attention of the reader to the last, though not the least interesting, of Mr. Tyson's philanthropic exertions. Connected with this, we must here introduce the name of the American Colo-

nization Society, instituted for the purpose of establishing settlements of colored persons on the coast of Africa. We may not disguise from the reader, that it was not until the closing period of Mr. Tyson's life, that this society enjoyed his confidence. The plan of colonizing, upon the continent of Africa, the descendants of those who, two centuries ago, had been torn from it by the hand of avaricious tyranny, in itself, met with, as it merited, his warmest encomiums. He deemed it fraught with blessings to Africa, and through Africa, the world. But he grieved to see the execution of this plan, holy as it was, committed to unhallowed hands. He believed that blot and blemish should be as invisible upon the ministers of the altar, as upon the altar itself. Though some of the founders and prime supporters of this institution were pious men, and honorable in their views—yet he numbered among their companions, men unworthy of the cause, and fraught with sinister designs. When he saw domestic tyrants and men who had actually in the southern slave trade speculated in the flesh and blood of their fellow creatures, united with their betters in a society, the professed object of which was the peopling of a continent with freemen, by the depopulation of a continent of slaves, he argued, as he had a right to argue, mischief to the cause. He believed that those unworthy members had in their minds a design to frustrate the original purposes of the institution—that what was intended as a society for the colonization in Africa, of such persons of color as choose freely to emigrate, including such slaves as were voluntarily surrendered for this purpose by their masters, they wished to convert into an inquisition for the purpose of banishing all free persons of color; of abolishing all emancipatory laws; and at last of rivetting, with tenfold tightness, the chains of

servitude upon the slave population. It was not until the secession of many of these from a society with which they could not mingle, that this noble institution began to enjoy the regard of Mr. Tyson. But it was not until by the incident we are now about to relate, that he reposed his entire faith upon it. Those who are disposed to censure this tardiness, may be reminded of the saying of Lord Chatham, that at all times, "confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom," and thus be led to drop their censure, or throw it on the constitution of our common nature.

A Spanish slave ship, returning from the coast of Africa to Havana with slaves, was captured, within sight of its port of destination, by a Colombian privateer, commanded by a native of the United States, lately naturalized in Colombia.

Of forty two slaves, the whole number thus captured, eleven strong and able bodied men were selected for the service of the privateer; (slaves cruising in the cause of liberty!) the rest were disposed of in the West Indies.

The privateer then made her way for the port of Baltimore, to be refitted. It was not long before Mr. Tyson obtained information of her arrival, and the character of her crew. Believing that while these Africans should be in the service of the Colombian captain they would be slaves, and that if some effectual way were not adopted, ere his departure to take them out of his grasp, their slavery would be perpetual, he was not long in contriving a plan for their enlargement. The execution of this plan, however, was attended with considerable difficulty and delay. Had they been imported as slaves, the immediate operation of the laws of Ma-

ryland, and the United States, would have effected instantaneously their emancipation. But they were brought here as volunteers in the Colombian service; to all appearance they were united to the rest of the crew; and their ignorance of every language, intelligible here, seemed to preclude the possibility of discovering whether their situation was one of compulsion or of choice.

Mr. Tyson was very desirous, before he attempted any thing, to procure from among those who had traded to the coast of Africa, one capable of acting as interpreter. His object was to inform them, through this medium, of their true condition, to acquaint them with the fact of their free agency, and then call upon them to make their choice of freedom here, or servitude with the Colombian captain. Failing in this, he took the only remaining step, a bold one, and boldly executed. This was to file a petition for their freedom, on the presumption that they were involuntarily held in slavery, to lodge the petitioners in gaol for safe keeping, and hold their claimants under ample security for their appearance, to answer the petition. The gaol being at a considerable distance from the place of their debarkation, they were conveyed in open carriages through nearly the whole extent of the city. This, together with public notice of the circumstance in the newspapers, aroused the public sympathy in their behalf, as well as the public curiosity in regard to their probable fate.

The matter was submitted to the chief Justice of the Baltimore city court, at his chambers, who determined against the petitioners.

An application was then made for their restoration to the Colombian captain, and granted. Before, however,

sufficient time could elapse for their discharge from prison, Mr. Tyson, (who was absent at the judicial investigation,) was apprised of the decision of the court.

Although at that time laboring under severe indisposition, he ordered his carriage, and with Dr. E. Ayres, the benevolent agent of the African Colonization Society, proceeded with all possible despatch to the house of General Robert Goodloe Harper, another and a very distinguished member of the same Association. A proposition was then agreed to, that these three should hasten to the chief Justice of the city court, and request him to procure the detention of the Africans in prison until application could be made to the government of the United States, for its interference in their behalf.

Mr. Tyson and his friends found the Judge at his dwelling, by whom they were very politely received, and who without the least hesitation, granted their request, by ordering the further detention of the prisoners.

The President of the United States was next solicited in their behalf, who referred the matter to the Navy Department, by whom it was again referred to the Marshal of this District, who was requested to take the Africans under his care. The Marshal refused to receive them, unless so requested by judicial authority; and the Judge refused to make such request, because, as he conceived, he had not the power.

He had not even the power he thought to retain them in prison, and therefore gave notice to the Colombian Captain on the one hand, and Dr. Ayres on the other, that at a certain hour the Africans would be discharged from prison, after which, they would be at liberty to go with whom, and wherever they wished. Having been

already under the control of the Colombian, it was apprehended that fear would induce them again to submit themselves to his command, unless some one could be found so possessed of the knowledge of their language, as to be able to interpret to them their real situation. With much difficulty such an one was procured.

With him Dr. Ayres proceeded to the prison gate at the hour appointed, where he found the Colombian Capt. waiting with impatience the anticipated discharge of the African prisoners.

Through the aid of the interpreter they were informed of their real condition, of their being free to go with the Colombian Captain or remain behind—and the question was then put to them, by Dr. Ayres, whether they would go or stay? If they preferred the latter, he told them to follow him—if the former, to follow the Colombian Captain.

They all immediately proceeded to follow Dr. Ayres. By the menaces and gestures of the Colombian, they were induced for a while to halt. Dr. Ayres again approached them and proclaiming to them that they were free, informed them that if they preferred going with him and would start, he was ready to follow and protect them. At this they all sprang up and ran in the direction wherein the Colombian stood. He in a great rage ran after them and succeeded in intercepting three boys, whom he took to his vessel. Dr. Ayres did not pursue these, because as they were obtained by violence, he relied upon the hope (which afterwards proved to be vain) of recovering them before a judicial tribunal.

The number rescued was eleven, who were immedi-

ately lodged in the Poor House of the county, there to await their future fate.

As the engagements and office of Dr. Ayres required his immediate presence in Africa, he was obliged to leave the entire management of their case in the hands of Mr. Tyson and General Harper. By these, their freedom was at length obtained, and measures taken for their future disposal. As their native places of residence were not far distant from the country allowed to the African Colonization Society as the scene of their labors, a proposition to send them thither, met with the warm approbation of that society, and with the joyful concurrence of the objects of so much solicitude.

Dr. Ayres being then in Africa and anticipating their arrival, preparations for their transportation were made without delay. On their departure their two kind friends presented them with both necessities and trinkets, which would have been acceptable even to an African Prince. These were accompanied with much good advice, calculated not more for their own, than for the benefit of the tribes to which they severally belonged.

The rest of the narrative is contained in a letter from Dr. Ayres to the Abolition Society of Philadelphia, which it would be unjust in me not to transcribe.

"The eleven Africans who were seized in Baltimore, and rescued from a piratical vessel, were last November delivered to me in Africa, by the captain of the schooner Fidelity. It was ascertained that they had been taken in war near our settlement, and sold to King Shaker, of Galleons, and by him sold to the captain of a Spanish vessel. This vessel was plundered by Capt. Chase of Baltimore, and boldly brought into that port,

trusting to his influence with certain persons of high standing, to elude the authority of our laws. But by the interference of E. Tyson, deceased, there was an investigation, and the slaves were detained until I arrived in that city, and took charge of them as Agent of the Colonization Society. Their cause could not be decided before I sailed for Africa, but they were shortly after set at liberty, and sent in the African packet to our colony, and delivered to my care. As they all preferred returning to their parents and families to remaining in our colony, they were permitted to do so.

"When I went on board the vessel, though much emaciated, and reduced almost to a skeleton, they immediately recognized me to be the person who had the year before rescued them from slavery. I had scarcely stepped my foot on deck before they were all round me, expressing by words and gestures the most heartfelt satisfaction for the favors they had received.

"When the vessel was getting under way, yielding to early impressions, by which they had been taught to consider a white face and treachery as inseparable, they concluded they were betrayed, and were again to return to America. They sprang below to get their bags, and were about to plunge into the Ocean, and swim to the shore with their bundles. On being assured I was about to restore them to their native towns, some of which were nearly in sight, their confidence was restored, and they contentedly went to work. When we arrived at Sugary, our crew being sickly, I went on shore for Charles Gomez, a native, who had been educated in England, to come off with his boat, and take the captives on shore. He came off, accompanied by several of the natives; and here a most interesting interview took place between these long separated acquaintances.

"A circumstance attending this affair, is truly characteristic of the African character. One of these captives had been taken by this Gomez two years before, in a war between him and the father of the captives, and afterwards sold to King Shaker. This captive was at first very shy of Gomez, and refused to go on shore with him, fearing the war was not yet over, and that he should be again sold to a slave vessel then lying in sight; but I assured him that he was in no danger; that I knew the war to be over; that Gomez was a particular friend of mine, and traded with me; and, in the presence of both assured them, that should Gomez attempt to do him injustice, I would not fail to chastise him.— These assurances entirely overcame his doubts, and when told that his father and the fathers of two others of them were then standing on the beach, not knowing that it was their sons, whom they had long supposed were doomed to perpetual slavery, were so shortly to be restored to their fond embraces, they all stepped into the boat, and in a few minutes astonished their delighted parents on the shore. I was much pleased to see that Gomez appeared truly to enter into the feelings of those poor creatures at this time, although he had been the cause of all their sufferings; but that was considered by them as the fortune of war, and created no hostile feeling or revenge.

"When taking my final leave of these poor fellows, they, pointing to their bags, filled with presents from General Harper and Elisha Tyson, exclaimed, see there!—our fathers in America good men. These circumstances shew what entire confidence may be obtained over native Africans by good offices."

"In a subsequent letter to the writer of this biography. Doctor Ayres, describing the meeting between three of

those restored Africans, and their respective parents, speaks of it as a most affecting sight. "Witness, says he, to yourself, three aged fathers standing on the sea shore, casting perhaps a longing look, in the course the vessel had taken, which conveyed their sons into a hopeless state of slavery—all the endearing recollections of parental fondness brought into association, at the sight of a strange sail coming to anchor near the spot on which they stood, and in the midst of all the bitterness of feeling arising from these recollections, their long lost sons suddenly rushing into their arms, and turning the flood of joy into channels yet wet with tears of sorrow.—Be assured sir, that I shared in these sympathies, nor was there a dry eye to be seen."

The rescue and restoration of these Africans, was a noble achievement of philanthropy, productive of blessings not only to the individuals rescued and restored, but to the African race. It discovered to them a secret hitherto concealed from them, that although a white face upon the African coast was *prima facie* evidence of perfidy, fraud, and cruelty, yet beyond the Atlantic there was to be found splendid exceptions to this rule, in the land of Washington and Franklin.—This has given them confidence in the Colonization Society, and satisfied them that the hopes and promises which this society has exhibited to their view, were not lures, but realities. Upon that confidence the benevolent of this country will be enabled to build up additional facilities, in furtherance of the great purposes of humanity.

In the early part of this work we had occasion to notice the services and character of William Pinkney; we are now led to notice those of General Harper, in reference to the African cause. We have seen the con-

fidence which Mr Tyson had in his exertions, and the great alacrity with which those exertions were afforded in aid of the captured Africans. The feeling which prompted Harper on that occasion, sprang from a heart full of sensibility, and was guided by an intellect, rich in all that gives nobility to man. The whole ardor of that feeling, and force of that intellect, aroused into action by the moral earthquake engendered in Missouri, continued to the day of his death to blaze and energize in the African cause. Universal emancipation, connected with colonization, was the favorite theme of his declining age and the last days of his existence were cheered, by the hopes which seemed to beam on him through the dark vista of futurity, of the glorious realization of his wishes.

The rescue and transportation of the eleven Africans was, as we have stated, the last public act of philanthropy, in which Mr. Tyson was concerned; for scarcely had he bid the objects of his benevolence a final adieu, when the disease which was then praying on the seat of life, attacked him with new vigor; and though it sometimes permitted him to walk about his house, yet most generally kept him on his couch. His mind and body soon became too weak to undergo, in any degree, the active labors of philanthropy.—But his life had not yet ceased to be useless to the cause.—There seemed to emanate from the spot on which he lay a passive power, which, without effort, infused itself into whatever approached him, like the virtue that proceeded from good men of old, to the healing of the multitude. It was from his voice, uttering the maxims of experience, and pronouncing the blessings of heaven—from his countenance, scattering the rays of benevolence upon all around, that emanated this power, which melted the hearts of the hardened, and nerv-

ed the arms of the timid philanthropist, who else would have had the will only, without the courage, to follow his example. The great concern in which he had spent his life was the constant topic of his conversation; and he continued with his latest breath to enforce the claims of the unhappy sons of slavery upon the humanity of their brethren. It was natural that he should feel a strong anxiety about the fate of those, who, through his exertions, had been restored to their friends in Africa.—He was on the alert to hear intelligence of their fate—his spirit seemed to follow them across the mighty waters. On one occasion he was heard to say, “if I could only hear of their safe arrival, I should die content;” and on another, that he had prayed to the father of mercies, that he would be pleased to spare his life, until he could receive the pleasing intelligence. His prayer was heard. The news reached his ears amid the last lingerings of life.—He shed tears of joy on the occasion; and when he had sufficiently yielded to the first burst of feeling, exclaimed like one satiated with earthly happiness, “now I am ready to die. My work is done.”—His expressions were prophetic; for in the short space of forty-eight hours, on the sixteenth of February, eighteen hundred and twenty-four, at the age of seventy-five years, he breathed his soul into the hands of God Almighty.

CHAPTER IX.

The news soon went abroad, that a “prince,” of no ordinary dignity, “had fallen in Israel:” and mourning,

deeper than sackcloth and ashes, covered the souls of thousands. These were the benevolent and good in every quarter; his brethren in religious communion; the sable multitude, whose bulwark against apprehension he had been for near half a century; but above all the many happy creatures whom he had rescued from perpetual slavery and woe. Even his enemies seemed to respect the occasion, and their exultation lowered for a while, beneath the cloud of sorrow, that covered this city.

His mortal remains were placed in a large hall of his spacious habitation, the doors of which were freely opened to all those who wished to take a last look at the features, where so lately sat enthroned the dignity of human nature, amid the rays divine of hope and joy, and christian exultation. None were excluded, for death, the great leveller, had marked him for that vast community of all sorts of men, that mingle in the tomb, and he lay humbled beneath the lowest of the living.— Yet even in the face of that humility, you might read that greatness had been there; and the eye of the benevolent could almost see his manly brow knit with indignation at human wrongs, or his lips smiling with triumph, at the triumph of innocence.

The numbers that came to view this illustrious victim of death, were incalculable. For two days, from an early hour in each day, until late at night, the house of mourning was without intermission crowded with visitors, and many a tear from the eyes of those who owed their all of earthly happiness to him, was mingled with the shroud of their benefactor.

At length the time arrived when all that was visible of Elish Tyson, was to be forever closed to human eyes, and the coffin lid went down amid the awful

hum of multitudes who had already assembled for the purpose of paying the last dues of honor to the dead.

The society of "Friends," with the great number of those who love the memory of a good man, met, as with one accord, and mingled with the crowd.

The colored population of the city, to the amount of more than ten thousand persons, having assembled at their respective churches, united their vast numbers to the concourse of people, and thronged along every adjacent and circumjacent street. On that occasion, all were free. To preserve, under such circumstances, the accustomed regularity of funerals, was impossible. The whole breadth of Sharp street and Baltimore street, wide as these are, and extending for the space of half a mile, was filled with the assemblage.

The funeral was conducted according to the ceremony of "the Friends," if that can be called ceremony, which consisted in a proscription of all form. The coffin was enclosed within a simple brown hearse, stripped of all ornament or superfluous workmanship, and conveyed by a single horse, harnessed in an ordinary way. The rest of the procession, went entirely on foot. It moved slowly and calmly along, without any noise or confusion, save that which arose from the consolidated mass about the hearse, when they pressed forward, as if ambitious of a station nearest the body of the deceased. Throughout the whole multitude, there was not to be seen any of the external evidences of mourning, none of "the trappings and the suits of woe," which usually make up the pageantry of a funeral. Yet the mourning was universal. It was the mourning of the heart—that kind of mourning, which so far from

offering outward evidences, manifests its existence, only by the effort to conceal it.

As the eye wandered along this immense crowd, and beheld their melancholy gaze fixed, as if immoveably, on the vehicle that bore along the remains of the great Philanthropist, and as the mind reflected, that to his philanthropy, was this mighty tribute paid, the exclamation naturally arose, "What are all the treasures of wealth, the titles of nobility, the honors of birth or alliance, compared with the dignity of him, who by his life merits such exalted obsequies! What avails the golden coffin, and the embroidered ear, the rich caparison, the tolling bell, the splendid row of mourners, decked in their flowing robes of sable, when not a tear bedews the earth, nor sigh escapes to heaven!

The honors that gather about the hearse of such an one, do but enhance the dishonors of his life, and throw a false and dangerous lustre around iniquity! Not so with those we are now contemplating. The sincerity with which they are bestowed, arising from the consciousness that they are deserved, give them a value above all the pomp, and glitter, and emblazonry with which servility can deck the obsequies of the falsely great; and arrays, in brighter glory, the life of him they are meant to celebrate.

The van of the procession at length reached the place of final destination. The hearse was then disburthened of its contents. Many were surprised on viewing the coffin, at not finding upon it the ornaments that usually decorate those of the illustrious dead.—Nothing was seen about it but that plainness and simplicity, inculcated by the religious society to which the

deceased belonged, and which it had been at all times his delight to practice.

The place of interment was the burial ground attached to the "Friends," meeting house, in Old Town, which was distinguished from the surrounding scenery, not by piles of stone and sculptured marble, but only by the heaps of monumental earth that ranged in regular order around the area.

The body was committed to the earth amid the tears of thousands: profound and universal silence succeeded: after which, the grave was closed upon the dead, and the immense crowd with thoughtful brows and softened hearts dispersed to their various habitations.

A funeral ceremony, more distinguished by form, took place in Philadelphia, on the occasion of Mr. Tyson's death. If it were material to describe minutely this celebration, the writer could not do it for want of particulars. All he has learned is, that the procession was large—that it paraded through several of the streets of Philadelphia to a church, when those of the multitude who could force an entrance, listened to a laudatory discourse on the life of the deceased.

On searching amid an almost incredible heap of papers and pamphlets on the subject of emancipation in general, as well as documents respecting particularly the freedom of individuals, his executors discovered carefully sealed up a valedictory address to the colored population of his country. As it is the only written relic which he has left behind of his labors of humanity, it is a subject for curiosity, and will no doubt be read with interest.

THE FAREWELL ADDRESS OF

ELISHA TYSON,

OF THE CITY OF BALTIMORE, TO THE PEOPLE OF COLOR, IN
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

"It has long been in my heart as a duty I owe you, and now near the close of my day, the impression remains with increased force upon my mind, to leave some advice, as a legacy to you, and as an evidence of the deep and affectionate solicitude I feel for your welfare. It is known to some of you that I have, for the last forty years, sustained many trying conflicts on your account; but if I have shared largely in these, I have the consolation of believing myself to have been imperiously called upon to espouse your cause; and I now feel the reward of an approving conscience, under the reflection that I may, in some degree, have been instrumental in promoting the melioration of your condition, or in the legal recovery and securing of some of your individual rights.

"In looking back through the period of time, during which I have been engaged as your advocate, how great appears the change, both in your condition as a people, and in the minds even of slave holders towards you!—The force of justice, and the power of religious principle, have so operated upon many of those who held you in bondage, that by voluntary emancipation many thousands of you have been restored to the rank of freemen. We now behold you a numerous and an increasing people, set at liberty to share in rights and privileges, in which you are deeply interested, and upon the proper exercise or abuse of which, may depend the thralldom or enlargement of your yet enslaved brethren.

"You will permit me to bring into view some of those

circumstances which, within the last forty years, have combined to improve your condition, and which, I conceive, are calculated to produce further results of the most importance to you. You now have the privilege of holding, and many of you are in actual possession of considerable property—others of you are liberally rewarded for their industry, and to all of you who have been emancipated, the means are offered of rendering yourselves comfortable in the world, and of diffusing blessings to your offspring as well as to those of your color generally. Under these favors, for which you stand immediately indebted to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, both civil and religious improvements are advancing amongst you. Your friends rejoice in perceiving the number of schools established and encouraged for the education of your children; because they view in the cultivation of the human mind, not only a preparation for freedom, but also a qualification for increased usefulness to civil society at large, believing in the important truth, that in proportion as barbarism and ignorance amongst you shall yield to light and knowledge, civilization and refinement will render you more valuable both to yourselves and to the community in which you live. They also observe with deep interest, the worship-houses erected for your accommodation, in many places, in which you are permitted undisturbedly to assemble, for the public acknowledgment due to the God and Father of us all. In adverting to this momentous consideration, I feel an ardent desire, that you may entertain just conceptions, both of the importance of religion, and of the nature and obligations of divine worship. The most solemn act in which the mind of man can possibly be engaged, is the worship of God. The aid of words is not necessary to communicate our wants, neither is the utmost exertion of the

powers of the human voice capable of reaching the Divine ear, with any increased certainty. True worship is the adoration of the soul; and when clothed in vocal expressions, it ought to be with reverence and awe, and under a demeanor, marked by that decency and order, which the knowledge of a God of order necessarily implies. In communicating these sentiments, I feel the warmest solicitude, that your religious assemblies, under whatever name you may meet, may be acceptable to the Divine Being; and that they may be so conducted as to claim the respect, even of your enemies.

“I will now call your attention to the importance of the relation in which such of you as are at liberty stand, to those who are in bondage. I desire to convince you, that your conduct, whether good or evil, will have a powerful influence in loosening, or in riveting the chains of such of your oppressed fellow descendants of Africa as may yet remain in slavery.—How lamentable is the reflection that the misconduct of some amongst you, who are enjoying the rights and privileges of freemen, should afford ground for the assertion that you are unworthy of liberty, and that this abuse of your privileges should furnish a pretext for perpetuating the sufferings and oppressions of your brethren who remain under the galling yoke of bondage! I assuredly believe, that not only those who are at liberty, but that those also who are enslaved, may become the instruments of alleviating the sufferings of one another, or, on the contrary, of aggravating and continuing those sufferings, by prejudicing the minds, and rendering callous the feelings, of Slave Holders against you. Under this view it is the earnest desire of my heart, not only that the free people of color, but

also that such as are in slavery, may so conduct themselves, as to make strong and powerful appeals to the humanity and justice of those who hold them in bondage. Religion, under its true and vital obligations, would lead those of you who are at liberty, to observe integrity and uprightness of conduct. It would make you examples in industry, in sobriety, and in honesty. It would render you happy in yourselves, and it would secure to you the confidence and favours of the white people, by proving to them that you were not unworthy of the rights you enjoyed. The same would likewise be its conspicuous and important benefits to those yet held in bondage; it would lead these to be faithful servants, to fill up the duties laid upon them, however hard their allotment, with a due regard even to the interests of their masters; and instead of indulging the malignant passions of depraved human nature, which go to render evil for evil, their souls would be directed in prayer to God, that the eyes of their oppressors might be opened to see, and their hearts softened to feel, for the wrongs and sufferings of the descendants of Africa. They would confide in the overruling and superintending Providence of the Almighty—of him who heard the cries, and brought out of Egyptian bondage, a numerous people formerly, long subjected to the cruelty of hard task masters, who “made them serve with rigour,” and embittered their lives with heavy oppression.

“Having thus expressed myself in relation to those who are now at liberty, and also to those who are yet in slavery in the United States generally, but very especially to you of the middle states, and of Baltimore, the city of my residence, in behalf of whom, my agency has, on many occasions, been more immediately exerted, I feel myself impelled under the deepest concern for

your welfare; and from a sense of the duty which I believe I owe to you, to say yet further, that my mind is impressed with a clear and full conviction that the Arm of Omnipotence is stretched out for your enlargement.—that he is manifesting his power by his influences upon the hearts of our Rulers, and that he is enlightening the minds and mitigating the feelings of many of those who yet hold you in bondage.

“Many are the advocates who are raised up even in the councils of nations, to plead your cause, both in reference to the foreign trade, and to domestic slavery.—The wrongs and the cries of Africa and her descendants have not only reached the ears of the Infinite Jehovah, but have touched the hearts of thousands, with feelings of philanthropy, under which they are becoming instruments in the Divine hand, in loosening your chains. And whilst I view with joyous anticipation, the great and interesting certainty, that slavery in our country is drawing to an end, and that thousands and tens of thousands of the descendants of Africa are becoming restored to the rights of freemen, my heart is animated with the warmest solicitude that the great purposes of the Almighty, in relation to you as a people, may not be retarded by any indiscretions on your part. I believe it to be the design of infinite Wisdom, not only to furnish in your case a proof of the very important truth, that slavery, being in itself inherently wrong, cannot always exist, but that it is also his sacred determination to manifest his omnipotence by bringing good out of this evil. In accordance with these views, I religiously believe, that the day will come in which the people of color in these United States, emerging from a state of slavery, will be made instrumental in diffusing both civil and religious benefits, to the dark and benighted regions of

Africa. Under considerations like these, how great is the responsibility which rests upon you, and how serious the duties you owe to God, to yourselves individually, and to one another!

• Having said thus much in discharge of the solemn and last debt, which I have believed I owe to you, I now close this my farewell address: in doing which the effusions of my heart reach forth to the God of all grace, earnestly desiring that under the dispensations of his Providence, the light of his truth may be your light, that it may lead, guide and direct you, in every difficulty, and under every extremity, and that he may finally give you an inheritance in the regions of eternal life, with "that great multitude which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and tongues, and people."

ELISHA TYSON.

Baltimore, 2d Mo. 1824."

This address was written a very few days before his death, which, he had anticipated would take place at the time when it happened. It was printed and circulated both in a pamphlet form, and in the newspapers of the day: it was read from the pulpits of the various African churches throughout the United States--and attended with the happiest effects.

CHAPTER X.

The person of Mr. Tyson was about six feet in height, though the habit of leaning forward as he walked, gave a less appearance to his stature. The rest of his frame was suited to his height.

The features of his countenance were strong.—His forehead was high—his nose large, and of the Roman order—his eyes were dark and piercing—his lips so singularly expressive, that even in their stillest mood, they would almost seem to be uttering the purposes of his mind. Indeed his whole face was indicative, to a striking degree, of the passions and feelings of his soul, when they were permitted to be manifested. Those of indignation and pity, but above all, that arch and incredulous look, which marks suspicion, were most strikingly displayed.—The latter seldom failed to drag forth the lurking truth from the bosom of the kidnapper, when he felt the piercing glance stirring up his soul.

The mind of Mr. Tyson was strong, rather than brilliant—with scarcely any imagination, he possessed a judgment almost infallible in its decisions—great powers of reason, which were more conspicuous for the certainty of its conclusions, than remarkable for displaying the train of inferences by which it arrived at them. He possessed wonderful acuteness of understanding, quickness of perception, and readiness of reply.

For these qualities, he was indebted more to nature than to art. He was not educated for the exalted station of a philanthropist, but for the business of the world—and yet, he seemed fitted exactly for the part he acted. He possessed not the *refinements* of education—he had not learnt to soar into the regions of fancy—his destiny was upon the earth—and he knew no flight, but that which bears the soul to heaven.

As to his moral qualities, they have been developed by his life.—His was the life of a philanthropist.—All those moral qualities, therefore, which belong to a philanthropist, were his. He was a great philan-

thropist; these qualities, therefore, were his in a *great* degree.

In very early life he enlisted under the banners of the true God. He never deserted his standard—on the contrary, in every encounter, where the honor of his Divine Master was at stake, he fought with more than heroic intrepidity in his cause. He was a good soldier in such a cause; constant—bold—firm against temptation—patient under suffering—not practicing upon others the injuries he received from them, but returning good for evil—warring not against man, but against the corruptions of man.

His conduct through life was singularly marked with prudence. His maxim was not

“Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.”

He looked to consequences, even in pursuing what was just. But they were consequences of a public nature—they were consequences calculated to effect the great cause which he had espoused. Hence it was that he never recommended any rash plan of humanity—not even sudden and universal emancipation—which seems to be the great theme of modern philanthropists.

But consequences of a nature, personal as to himself, were those which he despised. His maxim was

“FIAT JUSTITIA RUAT” MEUM.

His habits were those of temperance, industry, and economy. By the first, he was enabled to preserve for seventy-five years, a life, much burdened with those things which wear down existence. By the others he was enabled to amass a considerable estate, to obtain the comforts of life for his family, and bequeath independencies to his children.

His opinions in matters of religion, were strictly those of the society of Friends—I mean those of the more solid part of this society. Though he wore their costume and spoke their language, yet he believed not in the religion of dress and language—he thought them non-essentials—but that plainness within, would lead to corresponding plainness without.

He believed that human events were under the immediate inspection and control of the Almighty. That the only way in which these were effected, was by the immediate presence and guidance of the spirit of the Deity. The active principle in man was spiritual—God was a spirit—and, therefore, the only way in which man could be guided, and consequently human events controlled, was by the immediate union and communion of the finite with the infinite Spirit. This doctrine he found confirmed by the testimony of the wise and good among the ancient heathens and the virtuous Israelites—but above all, of the great founder of the Christian Religion.

He thought that a communion of this extraordinary kind could not exist without being perceptible to the sentient power of him whose privilege it was to enjoy it: and he spoke with certainty, that he felt from time to time, the overpowering and all-guiding presence of Jehovah. No enterprise of humanity or responsibility was attempted by him, without consulting this divine oracle, which existed in the soul of man, long before the Rhodian and the Delphian amused mankind by their incantations. He believed himself to be an instrument in the hands of the Almighty—bound to go when and where he commanded, and certain of success when he obeyed—and he was never deceived.

His opinions upon the subject of domestic slavery,

were those which he most openly expressed, because he was most desirous to inculcate them. These may be best gathered from his biography. The common arguments in favor of slavery, to wit: That it is a necessary evil, imposed upon us by our ancestors—that the condition of the free colored population is worse than that of the slaves—he treated as a mere apology for the want of argument.

1. Nothing can be called a necessary evil which it is in our power to avoid or remove. Each slave holder has in it his power to remove from *himself* the evil of slavery, by acts of private manumission. Therefore, to no slave holder, is slavery a necessary evil.

2. The sins of our ancestors will not excuse our iniquities. The sin of continuing slavery, when it is in our power to remove it, is as bad as the original crime of introducing it. Therefore, the sin of continuing slavery, is not excused by its introduction on the part of our ancestors.

3. Suppose it true, that the condition of the free population is worse than that of the slaves; freedom is not the cause of it. To say so, would be to slander the choicest gift of heaven. This condition may be the effect of the misfortunes, folly, or vice of the free colored man, or to all combined together. Even suppose the latter to be the case; who will dare to say that the misfortunes, folly, or vice of any one or more human beings, should be an excuse for the vice and folly of another?

His political principles were purely American. He loved to contemplate liberty in her proper station, equally removed from servility, and licentiousness.—He considered political freedom, though not incompatible with domestic slavery, yet disgraced by it; and gloried in anticipating the approaching jubilee, when the

one will have rooted out the other. He believed that the march of freedom throughout the world, was proceeding with a step steady and resistless as the tide of time:—that though the body of tyranny was of brass, and its legs of iron, yet its feet were of clay: and that, ere long, “the little stone, dug out of the mountain” by invisible hands, would smite the image to the ground; and becoming a great mountain, fill the world—that then, and not till then, would the millenium bless the nations.

His practice corresponded with his principles.—Regarding all men equal, in the sight of God, he affected no superiority over those whom the world would call his inferiors; nor did he look up for a superior, to any being less than God.

His manners were plain and simple.—He despised ostentation, whether in dress or furniture; and though he had it in his power to obtain the luxuries, was satisfied with the substantialities of life.

As a philanthropist, all must accord him a station of the first order. It is difficult, in the history of modern philanthropists, to find his superior.

The ancients did not pretend to philanthropy. Seldom did the benevolent virtues flow from one nation to another. The enlightened Greeks regarded all mankind, except themselves, as barbarians, and of inferior nature. Even the wise Aristotle assumed, as an undeniable position, that all other nations were inferior to the GREEKS, and then gravely deduced therefrom the conclusion, that nature intended all mankind to be *their* slaves. The great and good Socrates confined his lessons of morality, to the Athenian youth: and his disciple Plato, even in imagination, found ample scope for

the exercise of his philanthropy, within the bounds of his visionary republic.

The Romans regarded all nations, but the Greeks and Egyptians, as inferior to them; and, excepting occasionally one or two instances of Prætors and Pro-consuls, who governed with more than ordinary mildness the provinces committed to their care, nothing like a *philanthropist* is presented to the mind, through the extensive period of their history. Indeed, from the perpetual wars which they carried on against all parts of the world, where their sway was not acknowledged, it would seem that the opposite of philanthropy—*hatred* to mankind—was regarded as the first of Roman virtues.

Even the Jewish nation, (to whom was revealed the knowledge of God's existence, and the important fact that, as all mankind were descended from Adam and Eve, so they were, by creation, brothers,) designated all those, not in communion with them, by a term which has been translated "enemies"—regarding those only, who were of *their* persuasion, as "neighbors." Every one will recollect the parable of the "good Samaritan," uttered by the Saviour of the World.—A certain man going from Jerusalem to Jericho fell among thieves; and they stripped him, and beat him, and left him half dead. The Levite, of the highest of the tribes of Israel, passed by on the other side.—But the good Samaritan bound up his wounds, soothed his woes, and administered to his wants. "Now," asked our Lord, "which of these was *neighbor* unto him that suffered?" The truth flashed, like lightning, upon the mind of him to whom the question was addressed; and he gave his voice in favor of the kind Samaritan.

A short time before the utterance of this parable, the same great and good being who spoke it in his sermon on the mount, had uttered the truth which that parable was intended to enforce. "Ye have heard that it has been said, by them of old time, thou shalt love thy neighbor; and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, love your enemies.

Then was it that the principles of philanthropy first dawned upon the world. Then the barrier was broken down between the Gentile and the Jew, and the various tribes of mankind mingled into one, beneath the melting power of universal charity.

Jesus Christ was the first and greatest philanthropist. The virtue "that went out from him," to the healing of the multitude, was equally extended to "the son of a certain rich man," and "to the poor blind man by the way side"—to the Roman Centurion, as to the Jewish Pharisee or Saducee. The religion he taught was intended as a blessing to *all* mankind.

The apostles imitated him in his God-like virtues—and the primitive fathers followed in the footsteps of the Apostles. To compare the degenerate beings of modern times with these unequalled worthies, would be arrogance in the extreme.

Comparison is folly where the dissimilarity is great between the objects to be compared.—Modern philanthropists should, therefore, be compared with each other: and, for that reason, we will consider the philanthropy of Elisha Tyson, together with that of Howard, Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Sharp.

Howard risked his life amidst the fœtid damps and infectious plagues of the dungeon. In his circumnavigation of charity, (to use the language of Burke,) he

encountered difficulty, privation, and fatigue, as he administered to the wants and comforts of the prisoners of all nations, and at last fell a martyr to his cause.—His cause, however, was popular—he walked amid the acclamations of nations—kings and princes decreed him the respect of their subjects—and their dungeon doors were opened at the sound of his footsteps. The benefits he conferred were temporary in their nature, and now little is left but the benefit of his great example.

But the cause to which Mr. Tyson lent his life, though much more important for the good of mankind than that in which Howard died, was so far from being popular, that at the time in which he first entered upon it, it was, in the eyes of the world, even degradation to espouse it. The *great* men of the earth frowned upon him; and even his equals and inferiors treated him with contempt.—And although dungeons opened at his approach, yet this was not at the sound of his footsteps, but by force of his arm, which, for that purpose, became the arm of the law. His was the cause of liberty. 'Tis true he did not die a martyr to it, but his biography shews us that he was on all occasions ready to offer up his life for the good of his fellow creatures.

Clarkson confined his philanthropy to one great object—the abolition of the slave trade to the coast of Africa—and having achieved that, turned his attention to other objects. The same may be said of Wilberforce, the illustrious co-adjutor of Clarkson, in the great cause of abolition. Their efforts, though for a while resisted with obstinacy, triumphed at last; and their subsequent exertions were backed by the whole naval power of Great Britain.

But the whole life of Elisha Tyson, from his youth up, was devoted to the cause of emancipation. His very

last act was an achievement of philanthropy, and his latest breath was spent in thanking heaven for its success. He was not backed by the power of a mighty nation—but, single handed, compelled to fight his way through hosts of opponents.

In character and disposition, there was a striking resemblance between *Granville Sharp* and the subject of this biography. With very slight alterations, an obituary notice describing the character of Sharp will be found strikingly adapted to that of Tyson. Part of this we will extract for the benefit of the reader.—The rest may be seen by a reference to the “*London Christian Observer*, for August, eighteen hundred and thirteen.”

“At Fulham, on the sixth of July last, died Granville Sharp, Esquire, in the seventy-ninth year of his age—a man of pre-eminent philanthropy, whose life was most actively and perseveringly devoted to promote the best interests of his species, under a deep sense of his responsibility to GOD. He was a man of singularly gentle, modest and courteous demeanor; but in a cause which he deemed important, especially when it involved the rights either of his great Lord and Master, or of his fellow men, no less singularly bold and intrepid.

“He was a most efficient instrument in operating some mighty changes in the opinion and conduct of this nation—changes which will immortalize his name while the idea of liberty is cherished, or fearless, unwearied, self-denying, and successful exertions for the happiness of mankind, are admired among men. But the praise of men was not the prevailing motive to exertion with this distinguished individual. He did what

he did as unto GOD.—His fear was ever before his eyes; and the life of Granville Sharp appeared, to those who knew him, to be marked, in a very extraordinary degree, by a reference to the will of his GOD, as the supreme and decisive rule of his conduct; and to the influences of the Holy Spirit, as the only source of strength and peace.

“It is scarcely necessary to advert to the part which Mr. Sharp bore in the great question of the slave-trade and slavery. Every one in Great Britain knows, that if in the present day

“Her soil is freedom to the feet of slaves,”

it is to the constancy and intrepidity of Granville Sharp, that we owe this blessing. He achieved the recognition of this grand and ennobling principle, though almost singly opposed to the lawyers, the judges, and the statesmen of the day, and though vilified and traduced by the then formidable host of slave traders and their friends in Liverpool, London and Bristol. The case we allude to, is that of Somerset, in which it was decided by the Judges of England, that slaves cannot breath upon our shores.”

The above description, where it does not respect matters of local character, is most strictly adapted to the subject of this biography; and, therefore, we have inserted it.

What Sharp performed, Tyson would have done, had he lived in England. What Tyson did, Sharp might have performed, had he lived in Maryland. Nature seems to have formed them out of one common mould. She, however, cast the lot of Tyson in a field of wider and more laborious exertion, than that in which Sharp was born. In England, where all have a right by law

to freedom, individual instances of oppression, furnishing opportunities for the exercise of philanthropy, rarely occur. But in countries like Maryland, where slavery is upheld by law, the philanthropist will find no end to his labors. As it was the fate of Tyson to be located in such a country, it is probable that he was furnished by nature with a greater portion of those noble qualities and powers that enter into the composition of a philanthropist, than belonged to the soul of Sharp.—His were confined to a few instances—those of the former, to multitudes. Two thousand human beings have blessed him as the immediate agent of their deliverance from perpetual slavery. Indirectly, their present offspring, and the countless number of their future descendants, owe, or will owe to him, the light of liberty. When we add to these, the thousands that have obtained their freedom through the doors of private emancipation, opened through his exertions by the legislative arm; the numbers of masters, that have been, by his advice or his example, induced to do justice to their slaves by deeds of manumissions; the great improvement he effected in the condition of the free, by the erection of churches and the encouragement of schools; the amelioration, in the condition of slaves by the practical lessons of humanity which he taught their masters before the judicial tribunals of the state; the sacrifices he made, and the labors he endured, in order to reclaim from savage wildness, the red men of the West; and the interest he manifested in the welfare of all classes of human beings, of every sex, rank, condition, color, and degree—we will be justified in saying, that in closing, as we now do, this little volume, we close the history of the greatest philanthropist that has appeared on earth, since the days of the Apostles and primitive Fathers.

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Page 99, bottom line, for 1818, read 1798.





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